



Athena in the Classical World

Susan Deacy and Alexandra Villing

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ATHENA IN THE CLASSICAL WORLD

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EDITED BY

SUSAN DEACY AND ALEXANDRA VILLING



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We are pleased to be able to acknowledge the audience at the conference for their stimulation of lively debate, and encouragement of the validity of our endeavour. Our aim was to bring together scholars from many different backgrounds to enable a mutually beneficial exchange of ideas and approaches, questions (and, where possible, answers), and we hope that we went some way to achieving this. What is more, we have made many new friends, and benefited from ongoing discussions since the conference. In particular, we thank Anna de Pretis, Daniel Gershenson, Leslie Hammond, Virginia Hicks, Barbara Kowalzig, Eleanor Sibley and Chikako Sugawara. We also thank those scholars who contributed details of their work to the booklet which accompanied the conference: John-Gabriel Bodard, Francis Cairns, Stephen Evans, Heide Frielinghaus, Tony Keen, Birte Lundgreen, Jenny McBride, Daniel Ogden, Eva Parisinou, Karen Pierce, Gilza Saldanha da Gama, Julia Shear, Mark Usher, Elisabetta Villari, Mary Voyatzis and Tim Whitmarsh.

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Susan Deacy, Manchester
Alexandra Villing, Athens
April 2001

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>ABV</i>	J.D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters</i> , 1956
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJPhil</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt</i>
<i>ANSMN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i>
<i>ARV</i> ²	J.D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> , 2 nd edn. 1963
<i>ARV Para</i>	J.D. Beazley, <i>Paralipomena. Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> , 1971
<i>ASAA</i>	<i>Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i> , London
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>Cl. Ant.</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>FGH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , 1923-
<i>Harv. Stud.</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>Head, Hist. Num.</i>	B.V. Head et. al., <i>Historia Numorum</i> , 2 nd edn. 1911
<i>Hesp.</i>	<i>Hesperia: Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , 1873-
<i>ILLRP</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Republicae</i> , ed. A. Degrassi, vol. 1 ² , 1965; 2, 1963
<i>JDAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , 1981-
<i>LGPV</i>	<i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , 1987-
<i>LSJ</i>	H.G. Liddell and L.R. Scott, <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9 th edn., rev. H. Stuart Jones (1924-1940); Suppl. by E.A. Barber and others, 1968
<i>LSS</i>	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques: Supplément</i> , 1962

<i>MDAI (A)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>MDAI (R)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i>
<i>ML</i>	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC</i> , rev. edn., 1988.
<i>Mon. Ant.</i>	<i>Monumenti Antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei</i>
Nilsson, <i>GGR</i> 1 ²	M.P. Nilsson, <i>Geschichte der griechischen Religion</i> , vol. 1 ² , 1955
<i>OCD</i>	S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (ed.), <i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 3 rd edn., 1996
<i>OGIS</i>	<i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i>
<i>PP</i>	<i>La Parola del Passato</i>
<i>Praktika</i>	<i>Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i>
Preller-Robert	L. Preller, <i>Griechische Mythologie</i> , 4 th edn., rev. C. Robert, 1894
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue Archéologique</i>
<i>RE</i>	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, <i>Real-Encyclopädie d. klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , 1893
<i>Rh. Mus.</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue numismatique</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
Roscher, <i>Lex.</i>	W.H. Roscher, <i>Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie</i> , 1884-
<i>Syll</i> ^B	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3 rd edn., 1915-1924
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>ΖΡΕ</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Abbreviations of ancient authors and texts follow *OCD*

CHAPTER ONE

ATHENA PAST AND PRESENT: AN INTRODUCTION

Susan Deacy and Alexandra Villing

Consider these creatures, these people who are not people, these inhabitants of heaven. The god has a headache, his son wields the axe, the girl springs forth with bow and shield. She is walking towards the world. Her owl flies before her. It is twilight. Look at these clouds, this limitless and impenetrable sky. This is what remains. A crease runs athwart it like a bloodless vein. Everything is changed and yet the same.¹

I. *Why Athena?*²

Among ancient Greek deities, none has enjoyed as rich a life in modern times as Athena. Along with her Roman incarnation Minerva, she has been a constant feature in the literature and art of the Western world. Images of her are found in many cities, on, or in front of, such buildings as parliaments, museums, libraries, universities, and even a London gentlemen's club. Publishing houses, too, not least Brill Academic Publishers, the publisher of this volume, have chosen to place their activities under her aegis.² She has also 'lived on' in images of armed females such as Roma and Britannia, and has served as a role model for European rulers, both male and female. Just how topical the values embodied by Athena are in modern times can be gleaned from a study of allegorical female figures which draws parallels between the

¹ J. Banville, *Athena* (London: Martin Secker & Warburg, 1995), 232. Reprinted by Picador, 1998. Permission granted by Picador.

² The current emblem, which represents Athena/Minerva (scholarship) in the company of Hermes/Mercury (trade), has been used by Brill since 1952, having been slightly updated in 1990. It supersedes a similar emblem (here illustrated on p. viii) which was in use from c. 1910 and is based on a painting executed by Nicolaas Ryers for the Leiden publisher Luchtmans, taken over by Brill in the nineteenth century. Luchtmans had used Athena and the motto 'tuta sub aegide Pallas' (which was popular among institutions of learning in Leiden at that time) since around 1714. For the history of the emblem, see B.A. van Proosdij, "250 Jaar Tuta sub aegide Pallas", *De Antiquaar* 2.4 (1971), 81-92.

goddess and the former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher.³ What is more, at the time of writing, we have learned that she has given her name to the 'Athena Project', launched in 1999, which aims to promote women in science, technology and engineering in Higher Education in the United Kingdom.

Indeed, she continues to fascinate and challenge, and in the last few years there has been a surge of interest in her, as is evidenced by three recent books entitled 'Athena': a retelling of the myths making up her 'biography', a survey of her role as an archetypal figure throughout history, and a novel.⁴ She has also made an appearance as a powerful mythical archetype in the work of an author of psychology guides, where she is described as having appeared in person as the author's guiding figure.⁵ Furthermore, she has featured among the Greek deities chosen as personifications of styles of modern management, where her youth, energy and creativity make her stand for the 'task culture': the continued and successful solution of problems.⁶

In the fields of Classics and Classical Archaeology, too, she has generated a good deal of interest, and much Athena-related scholarship has been written. However, no single published volume has, until now, been produced that aims to draw together various modes of interpretation.⁷ In a sense, this is unsurprising. Studying a single deity across time and place may in certain respects seem a somewhat old fashioned undertaking, resonant of Cook and Kerényi in

³ See M. Warner, *Monuments and Maidens. The Allegory of the Female Form* (London: Vintage, 1996), 53.

⁴ L. Hall, *Athena: A Biography* (Reading, Massachusetts etc.: Addison Wesley, 1997); A. Shearer, *Athene: Image and Energy* (London: Viking Arkana, 1996); Banville, *Athena*.

⁵ See esp. J. Houston, *A Mythic Life* (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), 305-328. For a comparable approach, cf. C. Downing, "Dear 'Grey Eyes': A revaluation of Pallas Athena", *Southern Humanities Review* 15 (1981), 97-118.

⁶ C. Handy, *Gods of Management* (London: Souvenir Press, 1978).

⁷ Books have been written on specific aspects, especially Athena's role in Athens. Particularly notable are *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*, ed. J. Neils (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia and Parthenon*, ed. J. Neils (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996). See also C. Anderson, *Athena's Epithets: Their Structural Significance in Plays of Aristophanes* (Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner, 1995); E. Sibley, *Athena in Greek Drama* (PhD University of Nottingham, 1996); I. Altripp, *Athenastatuen der Spätklassik und des Hellenismus* (PhD University of Bonn, 1999); G. Nick, *Athena Parthenos. Studien zum griechischen Kultbild und seiner Rezeption* (PhD University of Mainz, 1994; to be published as *MDAI [A] Beiheft*). For an older synthetic study of Athenian Athena, see *Parthenos and Parthenon*, ed. G.T.W. Hooker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

the early-mid twentieth century, or even of nineteenth century treatises. Indeed, many scholars currently favour the comprehensive study of specific units, notably *poleis* and *ethne*, with their particular social, political and religious systems and external relations.⁸

Nevertheless, a strong trend in recent scholarship has been to produce bodies of work which centre upon specific deities, such as Aphrodite, Hera, Zeus and Apollo.⁹ Dionysos, as the embodiment of tensions and ambiguities, has emerged as a subject of particular scholarly interest.¹⁰ It is our contention that Athena is equally, if not more, complex and intriguing, yet in spite of a flurry of interest in the phenomenon of the armed female in history and myth,¹¹ there has been no such recent work on her.

The present volume seeks to rectify this situation. Developed out of a conference on Athena held at Oxford in April 1998, it brings together a range of contributions which present the latest research in a number of disciplines, and aims to shed light on the goddess from a variety of angles. It draws on current research in ancient religion, literature, art and archaeology, and the contributions cover a wide area not only in terms of geographical and chronological scope, but also in the range of topics. Athena's cult, myth and iconography are investigated, and so too are political, social, and gendered concerns, and art historical and etymological develop-

⁸ See, e.g., most recently *Les Panthéons des cités des origines à la Périégèse de Pausanias*, ed. V. Pirenne-Delforge (Liège: Centre d'Étude de la Religion Grecque Antique, 1998).

⁹ On Aphrodite, see e.g. V. Pirenne-Delforge, *L'Aphrodite grecque. Kernos Suppl. 4* (Athens and Liège: Centre d'Étude de la Religion Grecque Antique, 1994). On Hera, see most recently J. O'Brien, *The Transformation of Hera: a Study of Ritual, Hero and the Goddess in the Iliad* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1993); *Héra: Images, espaces, cultes*, ed. J. de La Genière (Naples: Centre Jean Bérard, 1997). On Zeus, see K. Arafat, *Classical Zeus: a Study in Art and Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); and *Myth, Sexuality and Power. Images of Jupiter in Western Art*, ed. F. van Keuren (Providence and Louvain-La-Neuve: Art and Archaeology Publications, 1998). On Apollo, see *Apollo, Origins and Influence*, ed. J. Solomon (Tucson and London: University of Arizona Press, 1994); and M. Detienne, *Apollon le couteau à la main: une approche expérimentale du polythéisme grec* (Paris: Gallimard, 1998).

¹⁰ Among the most recent contributions are *Masks of Dionysos*, ed. T. Carpenter and C. Faraone (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993); and T. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

¹¹ See e.g. D. Gera, *Warrior Women: the Anonymous Tractatus De Mulieribus* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997); *Schwert in Frauenhand: Weibliche Bewaffnung. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Deutschen Klingenmuseum Solingen (22.11.1998-7.2.1999)*, ed. G. Frohnhaus, B. Grotkamp-Shepers, and R. Philip (Essen: Klartext, 1998); L. Webster Wilde, *On the Trail of the Women Warriors* (London: Constable, 1999).

ments. Common and recurrent themes are explored, as are the many dividing lines, evolutionary processes, and, indeed, contradictory elements which characterise representations of the goddess.

In this first chapter, we shall sketch, in broad outline, some of the main trends in the history of representations of, and scholarship on, Athena, in order to provide a framework within which each chapter can be viewed. A complete overview could never be achieved in this context; instead we have chosen to focus upon some of those approaches which continue to influence modern research, and on those which – in our view – hold the most promise for shedding light on Athena in years to come.

II. A historic and thematic overview

Since Antiquity, different images of Athena have prevailed at different times. As ideas have developed, and the western world's view of the ancient world has changed, Athena has been persistently re-constructed and redefined.

1. Allegory and authentication: the rise of Christianity to the eighteenth century

The triumph of Christianity precluded the worship of Athena, but she survived – and indeed flourished – as an allegorical and ethical concept within the new system of belief.¹² In the Middle Ages, she was represented as the defender of wisdom and virtue, and her warrior status was crucial to her popularity.¹³

Such notions continued to be of importance in the Renaissance,

¹² This notion was based ultimately on allegorical interpretations current since antiquity; see G. Jöhrens, *Der Athenahymnus des Ailius Aristeides* (Bonn: Habelt, 1981), 393-437. (Jöhrens's study also compiles a large amount of evidence on a great variety of aspects of Athena's cult in ancient Greece.)

¹³ See N. Himmelmann, "Antike Götter im Mittelalter", in id., *Minima Archaeologica* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1996), 209-227, esp. 216-217; Shearer, *Athene* 118-157; Warner, *Monuments and Maidens* 80; L. May, "Above Her Sex: The Enigma of the Athena Parthenos", in *Popular Religion. Visible Religion* 3 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984), 106-130, esp. 116. For the continued appreciation of Athena (as an allegorical figure and in art) in Byzantium, see esp. E. Mathiopoulou-Tornaritou, "Klassisches und Klassizistisches im Statuenfragment von Niketas Choniates", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 73 (1980), 25-40. Cf. also Mathiopoulos' contribution in this volume.

when, in addition, her role as patron of the arts and human endeavour came to the fore, with the renewed interest in the arts, and developments in science.¹⁴ Since then, the image of Athena has continued to thrive as the patron of institutions devoted to art and learning.¹⁵ Her ancient role as friend and supporter of heroes and kings was revitalised, and she functioned as the patroness of states and their rulers or governments, being depicted in the company of rulers, variously teaching them, and offering advice and protection.¹⁶ But so adaptable was she that she was also able to thrive during, and in the aftermath of, the French Revolution, where she was re-politicised and re-interpreted as a personification of freedom and republic. Whereas most ancient gods (and, indeed, the Christian God himself) disappeared or retreated into the background, a statue of Minerva was erected on the Place de la Révolution in Paris: the conceptual, and actual, heart of Revolutionary France.¹⁷

Perhaps the most striking use of her, however, was in relation to the female rulers who emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The likes of Marie de Medici, Anne of Austria, Christina of Sweden, and Catherine the Great, were accorded her attributes, or represented as her protégés. Athena, the 'androgynous compromise'¹⁸ of antiquity provided the perfect solution to the problems generated by the anomaly of female rulers. The use of her iconography and attributes permitted them to be depicted as masculine, but for their masculinity to be controlled and regulated, so that their

¹⁴ See R. Wittkower, *Allegorie und der Wandel der Symbole in Antike und Renaissance* (Cologne: Dumont, 1984), 246-270; H. Lee, *Kunsttheorie in der Kunst. Studien zur Ikonographie von Minerva, Merkur und Apollo im 16. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a.M.: P. Lang, 1996).

¹⁵ Note, e.g., her presence in Vienna in the pediment of the University and on the cupola of Kunsthistorisches Museum, in Munich on the building of the Academy of Arts and in the pediment of the Glyptothek, or as a bust on top of the Free Library in Cardiff, extended in 1896.

¹⁶ On the continued appearance of Athena in ruler imagery, mostly embodying the ruler's wisdom and virtue, see R. Pfeiff, *Minerva in der Sphäre des Herrscherbildes, von der Antike bis zur Französischen Revolution*. Bonner Studien zur Kunstgeschichte 1 (Münster: Lit, 1990); May, *Above Her Sex*; H. von Heintze and H. Hager, "Athene-Minerva: Ihr Bild im Wandel der Zeiten", *Jahrbuch der Max-Planck-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften e.V.* 1961, part 1, 36-127; Wittkower, *Allegorie*.

¹⁷ Warner, *Monuments*, 31, figs. 11-12; Pfeiff, *Minerva*, 164-173, esp. 167, fig. 209.

¹⁸ F. Zeitlin, "The Dynamics of Misogyny: Myth and Mythmaking in the *Oresteia*", *Arethusa* 15 (1978), 182.

potential subversiveness might be offset by their loyalty to patriarchal norms and values.¹⁹

The continued significance of a pagan goddess in Christian times therefore did not present a conflict of interest as she was well integrated into the Christian system of allegories and into contemporary structures of power. In the same way that representations of the goddess on her own or with contemporary figures were considered personifications of virtue, wisdom and art, the myth of her birth from the head of her father Zeus was interpreted as the emergence of arts and inventions from the brain of God.²⁰ But this very same myth could also serve a very different purpose, thus signalling a recognition of the problematic nature of her role: Milton's *Paradise Lost* (publ. 1667) takes Athena's birth from Zeus' head as the model for the birth of Sin from the head of the anti-hero Satan.²¹

2. *Origins and symbolism: the development of scholarship*

A significant shift was brought about in the perception of the ancient gods – Athena included – in the eighteenth century, the time of the Enlightenment: the 'age of reason'. Athena continued to be viewed as a patron of the arts – as a symbol of wisdom, virtue and, notably, reason – but Christianising allegory no longer occupied centre stage. Instead, emphasis was placed on ancient Greek (especially Athenian) thinking, politics, culture, and art in itself. As a representative of the high political and cultural ideals associated with Greece, and with Periclean Athens (the 'cradle of democracy') in particular, Athena occupied an important place, particularly with the rise of Classicism and Neo-Hellenism in the latter part of the

¹⁹ Pfeiff, *Minerva*; May, *Above Her Sex*.

²⁰ See B. Spaanstra-Polak, "The Birth of Athena: An Emblematic Representation", in *Album amicorum J.G. van Gelder*, ed. J. Bruyn, J. Emmens, et al. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973), 293-305.

²¹ 2.752-766. In many respects, Milton sticks closely to ancient sources such as *Hymn. Hom.* 28: e.g., he presents the birth as violent, and stresses the close bond between father and daughter. However, he diverges from ancient material with his description of father-daughter incest. But the deviation is not entirely out of line with ancient material: on Athena and Zeus in a quasi-erotic pursuit scene in which Athena is cast in the role of victim (Leipzig T 638), see Arafat, *Zeus* 81, no. 3.107, pl. 27, but note Neils, this volume, pp. 226-227 note 33. Incest is more prominent in Athena's relationship with Pallas, another of the fathers ascribed to her (see Robertson, this volume, p. 42 with note 30). On the Athena-Sin association, see further Karentzos, this volume.

century. Scholarship of the time (like subsequent scholarship) was greatly influenced by the Athena-Athens connection. The normative role of ancient Greece is evident, for example, in the representation of Athena and Prometheus by Pompeo Batoni of c. 1775, where Athena is modelled on the ancient sculptural type of Athena Giustiniani.²²

This imitation and faithful recreation of ancient models in the arts went hand in hand with the development of scholarly research into the ancient world. One of the first developments, nature symbolism, drew on the etymological interpretation of divine names, ultimately based on ancient allegorical interpretations, and considered the gods to be personifications of natural elements and phenomena. Athena had been described by some Greek authors as aether, air, earth and moon,²³ and these identifications resurfaced in the works of many nineteenth century scholars.²⁴

Another nineteenth century tendency was to view myth as subject to local social and climatic conditions, which were thought to express the local, national, or tribal character of the mythmakers. The same was true of artistic form, although the latter was also regarded as driven by the individual sculptor's quest to achieve the best possible expression of a god's character.²⁵ Ideal representations of the gods were considered to have been best achieved in the Classical period, most notably in Periclean Athens, and as patron goddess of the city during its period of highest achievement, Athena

²² Lucca, Collection Conte Minutolo Tegrini. See Heintze and Hager, "Athene-Minerva", 68-69, fig. 43. The Athena Velletri type (set up, e.g., in front of the London Athenaeum in 1830: Shearer, *Athene*, 191-192, pl. 34) was also influential: see M. Nocca, *Dalla vigna al Louvre: La Pallade di Velletri, 1797-1997* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1997).

²³ See Jöhrens, *Athenahymnus*, 438-452.

²⁴ Virtually all the encyclopaedic studies of Greek mythology of the early or mid-nineteenth century (and several later ones) adhere to this line of interpretation. Creuzer, for example, sought Athena's origin in the natural element of water, while Müller connected her with dawn and Welcker identified her as *aether*, but with links to light, fire, warmth, moonlight, dew and water. In England, in a study centring on Athena, Ruskin – like Welcker – identified her as the air. See F. Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen 3* (3rd edn. Leipzig and Darmstadt: C.W. Leske, 1842), 308-482; F.G. Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre* (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1857-63), vol. 1 p. 298-320, vol. 2 p. 278-316; F.M. Müller, *Die Wissenschaft der Sprache*, ed. R. Fick and W. Wischmann (2nd edn. Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1892), 543; J. Ruskin, *The Queen of the Air: Being a study of the Greek myths of Cloud and Storm* (Orpington and London: G. Allen, 1890).

²⁵ See e.g. H. Brunn, *Griechische Götterideale* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1893).

was naturally accorded a position of special regard.²⁶ Such concerns have been highly influential on subsequent scholarship.²⁷

A further avenue of inquiry was into the development of myth and cult in its historical context, one of the main aims being the detection of historical information at the core of a myth. This approach, with Wilamowitz-Moellendorf among its proponents,²⁸ also generated an increasing interest in study of the mythology and cults of the different Greek regions,²⁹ an area of research which continues to thrive today in the study of regional religious systems, albeit now based more on the methodology of social anthropology and (post-)structuralism.³⁰ Ultimately, the efforts of scholars in gathering material for these studies culminated in the encyclopaedic works of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which, in their comprehensive coverage of Athena's cults and myths, are still unsurpassed today.³¹ Their portrayal of Athena as a warlike protectress who played an important role in the political and institutional life of the Greek city has set the framework for subsequent research.

The wider contexts of Athena's myth and cult also received attention at this time, particularly her Near Eastern and Indo-Euro-

²⁶ Cf., e.g., A. Furtwängler's entry on Athena in art in Roscher's *Mythologisches Lexikon*, vol. 1 (1884), 687-704; similar to it is L. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896-1909). Other artistic media – apart from vase-painting – tended to attract little attention in this context, although Lermann's *Athenatypen* of 1900 does contain a relatively comprehensive study of the depictions of Athena's head in Greek – notably Attic – coinage. W. Lermann, *Athenatypen auf griechischen Münzen* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1900).

²⁷ Witness, e.g., Philippson's investigation of how the local natural environment could be seen to influence local divine concepts of Athena. She concludes that the clarity, structure, and brightness of Attica conforms to the clarity of judgement and structured intellect of Athena. P. Philippson, *Griechische Gottheiten in ihren Landschaften* (Oslo: A.W. Brügge, 1939), esp. 73-79. The continued focus on the Classical period is still expressed in Niemeyer's statement that in the Classical period, images of the gods were perfected, and that these remained objects of admiration and veneration for successive generations. H. Niemeyer, *Promachos. Untersuchungen zur Darstellung der bewaffneten Athena in archaischer Zeit* (Waldsassen: Stiftland, 1966), 13.

²⁸ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "Athena", in id., *Kleine Schriften V.2* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1937), 36-52.

²⁹ E.g. V. Bérard, *De l'origine des cultes Arcadiens* (Paris: Thorin & fils, 1894); W. Immerwahr, *Die Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1891); S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1883); Farnell. *Cults*.

³⁰ Recent studies of regional cults include A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia I. BICS Suppl. 38.1* (London: University of London Institute of Classical Studies, 1981-1994); F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome: Schweizerisches Institut in Rom, 1985).

³¹ See Farnell, *Cults*, and the entries on Athena in *RE* and Roscher, *ML*.

pean connections. For example, Creuzer assigned significance to ancient sources referring to an Egyptian origin of Athena via her association with Neith, the goddess of Saïs, and also to her affinities with the Indian goddess of war, Durgā.³² Both associations have resurfaced in subsequent research. The Athena-Durgā association plays a role in the New Comparative Mythology established by Dumézil in the 1950s, and is discussed in relation to Homeric Athena in this volume by Nick Allen,³³ while the connection with Neith is central to Martin Bernal's *Black Athena* project (on which, see below pp.12-14).

3. *Between matriarchy and patriarchy: early gendered assessments*

From the second half of the nineteenth century, other concerns, too, came to the fore in scholarship on Athena. In his *Das Mutterrecht* of 1861, Bachofen set out his highly influential theory of matriarchal rule ultimately supplanted by patriarchy. In his work, Athena functions as an intermediate and transitory figure with original matriarchal associations who became aligned with patriarchy.³⁴ As such, she was installed as the representative of “motherless paternity in the place of fatherless maternity”.³⁵

At the turn of the century, such notions became crucial to Jane Harrison's view of the transformation of Greek religion from an

³² Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie* 353, 450.

³³ Dumézil and other comparativists have studied Athena mainly in relation to her role in the Judgement of Paris, where she is seen to personify the ‘second function’ of the three essential functions (or ideological principles) identified in myth and society: sovereignty, physical strength, and fertility. Like Durgā, she can, however, also be taken as an incarnation of the transfunctional goddess who embodies all three of the usually separate functions. See G. Dumézil, *L'Idéologie tripartite des Indo-européens* (Brussels: Latomus, 1958); id., “Les trois fonctions dans quelques traditions grecques”, in id., *Mythe et épopée*, vol. 1 (Paris: Gallimard, 1968), 580-586. See more recently B. Sergent, *Les trois fonctions indo-européennes en Grèce ancienne I: De Mycènes aux tragiques* (Paris: Economica, 1998), 39-59. Cf. also the recent comparisons drawn between Athena and the Indian goddesses Sarasvati and Durgā in Shearer, *Athene* 52-54.

³⁴ J.J. Bachofen, “Mother Right: An investigation of religious and juridical character of matriarchy in the ancient world”, in id., *Myth, Religion and Mother Right. Selected writings* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), 67-207 (an abridgement of *Das Mutterrecht. Eine Untersuchung über die Gynaiokratie der alten Welt nach ihrer religiösen und rechtlichen Natur*, Gesammelte Werke, vols. 2-3, ed. K. Meuli [Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1948]).

³⁵ Bachofen, *Mother Right* 111

original female-centred nature religion to a more 'violent' male-dominated one. To Harrison, Athena was in origin a mother and fertility goddess – “the maiden of the elder stratum” – who was divested of the power she once possessed, until she became “a sexless thing, neither man nor woman”, and “politics and literature turned the local kore of Athens into a non-human, unreal abstraction”.³⁶ Harrison saw in her anomalous and intermediate position such a level of collusion with patriarchy that she was led to assert that “we cannot love a goddess who on principle forgets the Earth from which she sprang”, a view which has been echoed in subsequent studies.³⁷

Freud similarly believed Athena to have been an original mother goddess divested of her power. In his theory, she was demoted to the status of daughter, deprived of her mother and permanently excluded from motherhood. But, unlike Bachofen and Harrison, he did not consider Athena's character and disposition to have been determined for all time by the emergence of patriarchy. She was, rather, a dynamic and volatile figure who oscillated between male and female, and resisted straightforward classification in gender terms.³⁸ As such, his views come closest to late twentieth century feminist and gender sensitive discussions of the goddess (to be discussed in 6 below).

4. *Athena's timeless nature: the early-mid twentieth century*

Whereas Bachofen and Harrison sought explanations for Athena in her origins, 'religious phenomenology', exemplified in the 1920s and 30s in the work of Walter Friedrich Otto, aimed to extract her

³⁶ J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903), 303, 304.

³⁷ Harrison, *Prolegomena* 304. E.g. in the words of one of the most influential feminist thinkers (discussing her role in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*), Athena is a tool of patriarchy, who “marches on, spoiling to betray her kind”. K. Millett, *Sexual Politics* (London: Hart-Davis, 1971), 114. The concept of Athena as an original mother and fertility goddess continues to find fervent believers, although it is far from universally accepted. For recent studies emphasising Athena's maternal and fertility aspects, see, e.g., H. Petersmann, “Tithrone als Epiklese der Athene”, *Historische Sprachforschung* 1 103 [1990], 38-50. Whereas Athena undoubtedly possessed maternal and fertility aspects, these are no more likely to be original than other traits. Cf. A.C. Villing, “Fertility, Motherhood and Agriculture: The Hidden Face of Athena”, unpublished paper, delivered at the Classical Association Annual Conference, Lampeter 1998.

³⁸ Freud does not stand alone in his assessment of Athena. In the nascent discourse

(and other deities') timeless nature. Dionysus, the god of polarities, was central to this approach, and Athena appears as almost a direct opposite of him: Otto considered her to represent clear insight, rational thinking and wisdom: aspects characteristic of the male world, but employed under a practical, creative, 'female' aspect. As far as Otto was concerned, her true identity was revealed by the manner of her epiphanies and interventions, and her role as the active protectress of heroes. As such, he famously termed her the 'goddess of nearness'. Otto's emphasis on Athena's mode of action, and on her wisdom and rationality, came to feature prominently in later scholarship, notably in the work of structuralists.³⁹

The 'timeless nature' of the goddess has also been central to investigations into mythic figures as archetypes of human thought and behaviour. In her study of the armed goddesses, Le Lasseur considered Athena to be ultimately based on the inherited instinctive pattern of a mother defending her children.⁴⁰ A somewhat different view is argued by Kerényi in his study of Athena as a Jungian archetype. He considers Athena's relationship with her father to be the central feature of her character, and places the emphasis on her role as a virgin supporting patriarchal ideas.⁴¹ Conversely, in her recent study, Shearer has given precedence to Athena's female traits, seeing in her the Jungian-style archetype of female power, and an heiress of the ancient matriarchal tradition, rather than solely an instrument of Zeus or patriarchy.⁴²

In Homeric scholarship, the concern with archetypes has even

on human sexuality, she was viewed as an androgynous concept, combining male and female elements potentially inherent in every human. On this, see further Alexandra Karentzos' chapter in this volume, which also explores the broader issues raised by the recognition of Athena's transgressive and disconcerting aspects in turn-of-the-century art. On Bachofen and Freud, see also Shearer, *Athene*, 224-235.

³⁹ See W.F. Otto, *Die Götter Griechenlands* (Bonn: F. Cohen, 1929), esp. 55-77. Engl. tr. *The Homeric Gods*, tr. M. Hadas (New York: Pantheon, 1954), esp. 43-60. (On structuralist analyses, see 7 below.)

⁴⁰ D. Le Lasseur, *Les déesses armées dans l'art classique grec et leurs origines orientales* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1919).

⁴¹ K. Kerényi, *Die Jungfrau und Mutter der griechischen Religion. Eine Studie über Pallas Athene* (Zürich: Rhein Verlag, 1952). Engl. tr.: *Athene. Virgin and Mother in Greek Religion*, tr. M. Stein (Dallas, Texas: Spring Publications, 1978).

⁴² *Athene, passim*. A further psychological approach has been taken by James Hillman, who has focused upon Athena's civilising qualities in psychological terms, as "the archetypal person within the fantasy of normality". J. Hillman, "On the necessity of abnormal psychology", in *Facing the Gods*, ed. id. et. al. (Irving: Spring Publications, 1980), 1-38.

led to suggestions that Athena as the guiding goddess in the Homeric poems is a projection of Homeric man's feminine portion of soul.⁴³ This may be read as an extreme development of an interpretation put forward by Nilsson of the appearance of Athena in the *Iliad* as representing internal (rational) thoughts of Achilles, which has remained an influential thesis, in spite of cogent criticism.⁴⁴

5. *The mid-late twentieth century: origins reassessed*

Since the later part of the twentieth century, there has been a general tendency to move away from a rigid concern with roots and prehistoric religion. Interest in origins and historical development rightly persists and continues to enhance our understanding of Greek religion, but any single-minded endeavour to reduce deities to their original manifestation or essence, and thereby account for all later manifestations, has tended to be regarded as outdated and largely ineffectual.⁴⁵

Among those studies for which origins continue to serve as the basis of discussion it is Martin Bernal's work which – perhaps regrettably – has attracted the widest audience. In Bernal's scheme Athena was in origin Egyptian, and was brought to Greece together with an enormous number of features of civilisation and culture in the third and second millennia. Crucial to his thesis is his derivation

⁴³ Cf. R. Eisner, *The Road to Daulis: Psychoanalysis, Psychology and Classical Mythology* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 94–95.

⁴⁴ M.P. Nilsson, "Götter und Psychologie bei Homer", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 22 (1924), 363–390, esp. 374; see also M. Pope, "Athena's Development in Homeric Epic", *AJPhil* 81 (1966), 112–135, esp. 121. For a critical assessment, see O. Tsagarakis, "Die Epiphanie Athenas im A der Ilias: Psychologie oder Religion?", *Gymnasium* 87 (1980), 57–80. Cf. also W. Kullmann, "Gods and Men in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*", in *Harv. Stud.* 89 (1985), 1–23. Other useful analyses of Athena's role in the *Odyssey* are M. Müller, *Athene als göttliche Helferin in der Odyssee* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1966), in which Athena is the god of divine assistance; and J. Clay, *The Wrath of Athena: Gods and Men in the Odyssey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), in which Athena's anger is read as the driving force in the story.

⁴⁵ This need to abandon the search for origins has been argued most vociferously by Luyster, in whose view the contradictory elements in Athena's character of fertility and warlikeness are not historically developed but are natural basic traits for a 'great' goddess. Yet by postulating such an inherently contradictory character as an original 'great goddess' the potential for change is again denied. R. Luyster, "Symbolic Elements in the Cult of Athena", *History of Religions* 5 (1965), 133–163.

of Athena's name from Ἥτ Ντ, 'House of Neith', the name of the goddess of Saïs and the sacred name of that city: this is his 'Black Athena'.⁴⁶ The etymology has, however, been much disputed by specialists in linguistics, who have shown that it relies upon superficial resemblance only.⁴⁷

There is general agreement that Athena and Neith are deities related in (aspects of) character and function.⁴⁸ Also, certain Greeks themselves identified Athena as African: according to one tradition of her birth, she originated beside the river Triton in Libya (whence her epithet *Tritogeneia*) and she was considered to have maintained links with this birthplace.⁴⁹ However, it is quite another thing to argue that these associations mean that Athena was in origin Neith, or that her origins are of any significant importance in accounting for later characteristics, and in illuminating later manifestations. Certainly, it cannot be ruled out that Athena's perceived similarities to Neith ultimately go back, at least partly, to cultural interchange or even common ancestry. Yet even if it were true that Athena derived from Neith, she would have evolved beyond her origins, and become integrated into Greek culture.⁵⁰ In this context, we would argue that the more interesting, and perhaps more crucial, significance of the myth of Athena's African roots lies in its role in the Athenian discourse of identity-otherness centring around the myth of autochthony: Athena endorses Athenian autochthony through

⁴⁶ See esp. M. Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilisation, 1, The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 21, 51-53.

⁴⁷ See esp. J. Jasanoff and A. Nussbaum, "Word Games: The Linguistic Evidence in *Black Athena*", in *Black Athena Revisited*, ed. M. Lefkowitz and G. MacLean Rogers (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 177-205, esp. 193-194; A. Egberts, "Consonants in Collision: Neith and Athena Reconsidered", in *Black Athena: Ten Years After* (TAAANTA 28-29), ed. W. van Binsbergen (Hoofddorp: Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society, 1997), 149-163. Cf. also A. Teffeteller, this volume, p. 362 note 66.

⁴⁸ See, e.g., G. Elderkin, "Studies in Early Athenian Cult II. The Saite Athena", in *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps on His Seventieth Birthday* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936), 110-114.

⁴⁹ See, e.g., Aesch. *Eum.* 292-293. Cf. the tradition that she was the daughter of Neilos: see, e.g., Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2.28.2; Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.59.

⁵⁰ Cf. van Binsbergen, *Ten Years After*, 36. Bernal's approach appears grounded more in nineteenth century positivism ('history from myth') than in contemporary notions of myths as social and ideological constructs. Cf. Edith Hall's discussion of Bernal's use of myth. E. Hall, "When Is a Myth Not a Myth? Bernal's 'Ancient Model'", in Lefkowitz and MacLean Rogers, *Black Athena Revisited*, 333-348.

her patronage of the ancestral hero Erichthonios, but all the while retains foreign qualities and associations.⁵¹

Nevertheless, the existence of a significant process of repeated fertilisation of Greece by the East has been repeatedly and convincingly demonstrated,⁵² and this has established the context in which links between Athena and her Eastern counterparts need to be viewed. Any such links are likely to be the result of a complex pattern of interaction which required the active participation and adaptive powers of the 'recipient'. This is likely to have been the case with the relationship between Greek Athena and Italian Minerva, discussed in the present volume by Fritz Graf, or between Athena and Eastern goddesses of war and protection, such as Anat⁵³ or the Hittite Sun Goddess of Arinna – the latter of whom Annette Teffeteller links with Athena in this volume. Similarities may also derive from common (Indo-European) roots, as Nick Allen argues in this volume with respect to parallels between Athena and the Indian goddess Durgā.

Important research has, of course, also been conducted on possible Minoan/Mycenaean origins of Athena,⁵⁴ especially in the wake of Nilsson's influential (albeit contested) thesis that she was the

⁵¹ Cf. S.J. Deacy, "Black Athena? Interactions of African and Greek Myth", unpublished paper, delivered at the Myth Colloquium, Bristol, July 1998, to be written up for publication.

⁵² On Greek culture's dependence on Oriental ideas, see e.g. M. West, *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999); W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, tr. M. Pinder and W. Burkert (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1992); J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (4th edn. London: Thames and Hudson, 1999).

⁵³ On Athena and Anat, cf. V. Karageorghis, *Greek Gods and Heroes in Ancient Cyprus* (Athens: Commercial Bank of Greece, 1998), 105-113. For a possible iconographic link between Athena and the (androgynous) Hittite deity Shaushga, cf. A.C. Villing, "Athena as Ergane and Promachos: The Iconography of Athena in Archaic East Greece", in *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence*, ed. N. Fisher and H. van Wees (London: Duckworth/Classical Press of Wales, 1998), 147-168, esp. 152-153. Athena's Eastern roots have also been examined recently in a study by D. West which is, unfortunately, seriously flawed: *Some Cults of Greek Goddesses and Female Daemons of Oriental Origin* (Kevelaer: Butzon and Bercker/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukircher Verlag, 1995), 114-173.

⁵⁴ E.g., L. Stella, "Origini Cretesi di Athena?", in Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ε Διεθνούς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, "Ἅγιος Νικόλαος, vol. I, ed. T. Detorakis (Herakleion: Etaireia Kritikou Istorikon Meleton, 1985), 355-364. On Athena and the Mycenaean warrior-goodness, see P. Rehak, "New observations on the Mycenaean warrior goddess", *AA* 1984, 535-545, and J. Hooker, "An Athena at Mycenae", in id., *Scripta*

peaceful guardian of the Minoan palace who acquired a more war-like character in a Mycenaean context.⁵⁵ In all, historical approaches demonstrate that Athena was not a creation *ex nihilo* of Archaic and Classical Greece, but the product of complex Mediterranean interactions, historical processes, and particular local conditions.

6. *Later twentieth century gendered appraisals*

As we discussed in 3 above, Athena's gendered nature served as a focal point for the influential studies of Bachofen and others. From a contemporary perspective, their approaches seem inadequate, for they render Athena essentially unchangeable once the assumed transition from matriarchal to patriarchal rule had been completed. Recent gender-sighted studies have seen Athena not as implicated in a male victory of long ago, but have located her contradictory characteristics within ongoing and continually re-enacted discourses on gender.⁵⁶

In such research, Athena emerges as the patron and champion of civilised, patriarchal order, who, paradoxically, through her person and her actions, challenges and destabilises the very principles she endorses. For example, she rejects marriage, and as such refuses to participate in a crucial feature of the male-dominated society she otherwise strives to maintain.⁵⁷ This has the effect of associating her

Minora, ed. F. Amory, P. Considine, and S. Hooker (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1996), 355-372. Chikako Sugawara is presently preparing a University of Athens doctoral thesis on the early origins of Athena, from which further insights can be expected.

⁵⁵ M. Nilsson, *Die Anfänge der Göttin Athena*. Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-filol. Meddelelser IV.7 (Copenhagen: A.F. Høst & Søn, 1921). For recent criticism, see N. Robertson, "Athena in Early Greek Society: Palladium Shrines and Promontory Shrines", in *Religion in the Ancient World: New Themes and Approaches*, ed. M. Dillon (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1996), 383-475, esp. 384.

⁵⁶ E.g., on Athena's intense and distorted femininity, see S. Blundell, "Marriage and the Maiden: Narratives on the Parthenon", in *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece*, ed. ead. and M. Williamson (London: Routledge, 1998), 47-70. Loraux, however, reads Athena as a uniquely safe and 'reassuring' image of femininity which is set against other, more disturbing ones. Loraux, *Children* esp. 11.

⁵⁷ E.g., in the *Eumenides* (which to Kate Millett exemplifies Athena's collusion with patriarchy [see n. 37 above]), Athena states her closeness to 'the male', but in doing so, expresses her refusal to adhere wholly to male values, for she upholds the male with a proviso: "with the exception of undergoing marriage" (πλὴν γάμου τυχεῖν) (Aesch. *Eum.* 737). See further S. Goldhill, *Reading Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 31. On the implications of *Eum.* 737 and related

with a series of transgressive female figures, most notably the Amazons, who reject marriage and threaten to overturn order.⁵⁸ The phenomenon of Athena's gendered identity as an expression of ancient – and indeed modern – notions of femininity and masculinity is further explored in this volume, notably in the chapters by Alexandra Karentzos, Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, and Sarah Spence.

7. *Opposition and Correspondence: Structuralist, poststructuralist and other approaches*

Male-female, order-disorder, belligerence-fertility: Athena has long lent herself to interpretation in terms of oppositions. As we have just discussed, from a gendered perspective, she may be seen to be inherently contradictory: as the endorser of patriarchal order, who rejects the very things she extols. Her ambiguous character is also at the heart of the approach taken by Kerényi, for whom, “the image of Athene contains a polarity and inner tension”.⁵⁹ In Herington's methodologically very different study she is also viewed in terms of

passages, see S.J. Deacy, “The Vulnerability of Athena: *Parthenoi* and Rape in Greek Myth”, in *Rape in Antiquity: Sexual Violence in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, ed. ead. and K.F. Pierce (London: Duckworth/Classical Press of Wales, 1997), esp. 47; ead., “Athena and the Amazons: Mortal and Immortal Femininity in Greek myth”, in *What is a God? Studies in Greek Divinity*, ed. A.B. Lloyd (London: Duckworth/Classical Press of Wales, 1997), esp. 158.

It should be stressed, however, that there is no single feminist view of Athena. Like Bachofen and Harrison, Luce Irigaray regards Athena as never moving beyond (and, indeed, as being incapable of moving beyond) her role as the father's daughter and endorser of patriarchy. E.g. she writes of how, “By taking over maternal power, by swallowing it, introjecting it, he [the God] engenders, produces this daughter who (only) gives herself out to be what she is not: a simulacrum borrowed by the God to help him in his work, establish his empire” (*Marine Lover of Friedrich Nietzsche*, tr. G.C. Gill [New York: Columbia University Press, 1992], 102). Irigaray has emphasised the ongoing importance of the myth of Athena: “all this is still extremely contemporary...here and there, regulation Athenas whose one begetter is the head of the Father King still burst forth” – women who are “completely in his pay” (“The Bodily Encounter with the Mother”, in *The Irigaray Reader*, ed. M. Whitford [Oxford: Blackwell, 1991], 37). Cf. Adrienne Rich's warning against being taken in by “the myth of the ‘special’ woman, the unmothered Athena sprung from her father's brow” (“Commencement Address at Smith College, 1979”, in *Images of Women in Popular American Culture*, ed. A.G. Dorenkamp et al. [New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985], 121).

⁵⁸ Athena's relationship with the Amazons is explored in Deacy “Athena and the Amazons”; on Athena's place within a scheme of dangerous and troubling femininity in the *Oresteia*, see Zeitlin, “Misogyny”, 160–162.

⁵⁹ *Virgin and Mother*, 7.

oppositions, in this case between the peaceful earth goddess, Athena Polias, and the warrior maiden Athena Parthenos (although, as far as he was concerned, in a historical process, these originally separate elements ultimately became fused).⁶⁰

Other scholars have discussed Athena not in terms of whether she herself may be read as contradictory, or as comprising contrary components, but have, instead, examined how she stands in opposition to other deities. As a civilising goddess (credited with such innovations as inventing the bridle and chariot, and passing on the arts of spinning and weaving), she stands in contrast to other deities, so that, "Poseidon violently sires the horse, Athena bridles it and builds the chariot; Hermes may multiply the flocks, Athena teaches the use of wool".⁶¹

Nowhere have such concerns been more important than in structuralist analyses, in which deities are understood as part of a religious system in which the pertinent features and spheres of influence of each emerge through correspondence with, and opposition to, others in the pantheon. Detienne, Vernant and others have produced many invaluable studies which examine how Athena interacts with, and relates to, other deities.⁶² For example, Detienne and Vernant's enquiries into Athena's association with the sea, and into her role in the mastery of horses, have uncovered her role as a power of technology and cunning intelligence (*metis*), as against Poseidon, who represents and embodies the elemental power of the sea and the horse.⁶³ Similarly, according to Jean-Pierre Darmon, in

⁶⁰ C.J. Herington, *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1955).

⁶¹ Burkert summarizing the results of work by Detienne and Vernant: W. Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), 141. Eliade has pointed out that the importance – even sacrality – allocated to intelligence and technical inventions through the worship of Athena are a particularly unusual feature in comparison with other religions. M. Eliade, *A History of Religious Ideas 1. From the Stone Age to the Eleusinian Mysteries* (London: Collins, 1979), 280-281.

⁶² See e.g. M. Detienne, "Athena and the mastery of the horse", *History of Religions* 11 (1971-1972), 161-184; id. and J.-P. Vernant, *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society* (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1991), esp. section IV; J.-P. Darmon, "The Powers of War: Ares and Athena in Greek Mythology", in *Greek and Egyptian Mythologies*, ed. Y. Bonnefoy (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 114-115.

⁶³ As Elisabetta Villari has argued, the structural polarity between Poseidon and Athena, can, however, also be viewed in a historical and regional dimension. She argues for an original association between Poseidon and Athena, with the two qualities of *alke* ('strength') and *metis* complementing each other, and only later – and not

the sphere of warfare, whereas Ares is “the raw force of war” and lacks prudence, Athena promotes ordered combat, and is filled with *metis*.⁶⁴

Structuralism can, however, be accused of imposing too rigid a system, with overly fixed allocated roles. Poststructuralist approaches, meanwhile, offer useful, if uncomfortable, ways of making sense of the contradictory images that define Athena, since they draw on oppositions but dismantle them, and show them to be fluid and unstable. From such a standpoint, Athena may be seen to be defined in relation to oppositions that are in a state of permanent flux. She never wholly resolves these oppositions, but rather displaces them, and redraws the boundaries by which they are defined. Athena’s relationships with other figures may be seen to be marked by oppositions that are persistently shifting, so that she partakes of the ambivalence and destructiveness of the very things which she disciplines and tames. For example, her structural opposition to Ares is counterbalanced with strong affinity to him and all he stands for, and she regularly situates herself at the heart of the danger and terror of war.⁶⁵

Structuralist and poststructuralist ideas have also been applied to the study of imagery. This has entailed a departure from prevailing traditional art historical approaches, with their focus on the artist as the major creative force, to discussions centring upon the consumer as the reader of artefacts, and to analyses of the context and underlying structure of images. Bérard, for example, has examined ambiguities in images of Athena in Attic art which allow for confusion in certain contexts with mortal women, such as scenes with priestesses, scenes of departing warriors, and scenes of athletic contests.⁶⁶ Notable, too, are Bron’s studies of winged beings associated

everywhere in Greece – being separated. E. Villari, “Posidone e l’invenzione del morso: un’anomalia nella versione del mito? (Soph. *OC* 714)”, *Vichiana* (3rd series) 4.1 (1993), 1-15.

⁶⁴ Darmon “Athena and Ares”. Note also the study of Aphrodite and other female deities by Friedrich, who attempts to combine structural and personality model approaches, and who considers Athena the ideal ‘older sister’ in the family of gods: P. Friedrich, *The Meaning of Aphrodite* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

⁶⁵ On this see S.J. Deacy, “Athena and Ares: War, Violence and Warlike Deities”, in *War and Violence in the Ancient World*, ed. H. van Wees (London: Duckworth/Classical Press of Wales, 2000), 285-298.

⁶⁶ C. Bérard, “Athéna mélancolique”, *Recherches et documents du Centre Thomas More* 41 (1984), 1-18.

with Athena, which functioned as diverse and ambiguous signs in her imagery.⁶⁷

8. *Art historical concerns*

The developments dealt with in the previous section go hand in hand with the necessity to examine more formal and art historical aspects of Athena's iconography, and to consider specific developments in their local contexts. Thorough investigations into the iconography, style and typology of representations of Athena remain indispensable, and provide the essential material basis for further interpretation.⁶⁸

Much of the research in this field has traditionally focused upon sculpture, in particular on the identification or reconstruction of statues mentioned in literature, and the assessment of extant representations as expressions of a specific time which may be placed within a line of development in Greek art in general, and the iconography of Athena in particular. Elsie Mathiopoulos's study of fifth-century sculptural types remains one of the most important works in this regard.⁶⁹ More recently, several works have been produced on representations of Athena (and other figures) on Attic votive and document reliefs, which have further helped to anchor iconographical patterns used for Athena in Athenian art chronologically, and to assess the meaning and function of certain types in contemporary politics and society.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ See esp. C. Bron, "Le gent ailée d'Athéna Poliade", in: *L'image en jeu, de l'antiquité à Paul Klee*, ed. C. Bron and E. Kassapoglou (Lausanne, Yens-sur-Morges: Éd. Cabédita, 1992), 47-84.

⁶⁸ An important tool in this respect is the *LIMC*, most notably its articles on Athena (P. Demargne [and H. Cassimatis], in *LIMC* 2 [1984], 955-1044), Minerva (F. Canciani, *ibid.*, 1074-1109), and Menerva (G. Colonna, *ibid.*, 1050-1074).

⁶⁹ E. Mathiopoulos, *Zur Typologie der Göttin Athena im fünften Jahrhundert vor Christus* (PhD Bonn University: Bonn, 1968). Cf. also K. Zimmermann, *Athenastandbilder in Dresden* (PhD Humboldt University Berlin, 1969). For a recent critical assessment of the problems associated with identifying statues of Athena known only from literary sources in the extant iconographical record, see B. Lundgreen, "A Methodological Enquiry: The Great Bronze Athena of Pheidias", *JHS* 117 (1997), 190-197. Several recent studies have also addressed the issue of the iconographical development of Athena's attributes: P. Marx, *The Attributes of Athena in Athenian Narrative Art, circa 675 to 530 BC*. (PhD University of Maryland at College Park: UMI, 1988); S. Vierck, in *LIMC* 8 (1997), 510-515 s.v. Aegis.

⁷⁰ See M. Mangold, *Athenatypen auf attischen Weihreliefs des 5. und 4. Jhs. v. Chr. Hefte des archäologischen Seminars der Universität Bern*, Beiheft 2 (Berne: Institut für Klassische

A number of scholars – such as, for example, Berger and Waywell⁷¹ – have attempted to move further beyond issues of reconstruction, dating and attribution, and to grasp the essence and the significance of Athena's iconographical development in sculpture.⁷² From this, a picture emerges of value-laden yet rather 'human' and accessible images of Athena of the mid-fifth century, which may be seen to be engaged in a 'dialogue' with the onlooker (such as Athena Parthenos projecting victory, and Athena Lemnia appealing for peace). These, however, were gradually transformed into increasingly withdrawn, private, and less openly warlike Athenas of the fourth century. While some interpretations of this kind may at times appear rather speculative, there is no doubt that divine sculptural representations can and do reflect contemporary social and religious developments, as is argued by Ina Altripp and Elsie Mathiopoulos in this volume, and supported – in Altripp's case – by Silvia Milanezi's investigation of parallel developments in literature.

Another focus of scholarship has been the identification of the development of regional patterns in iconography. Niemeyer's study of Archaic bronze figurines is still of vital importance in this area. In his work, the earlier Palladion type was shown to be of Cretan/Peloponnesian origin, while the later Promachos type was developed in (Peisistratid) Athens.⁷³ In fact, it seems that, with regard to local iconographies of Athena, the study of the so-called 'minor arts' appears more promising than that of large-scale sculpture, since the location of manufacture can often be ascertained with greater likelihood. From the study of local manifestations, we

Archäologie, 1993); M. Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1989); C. Lawton, *Attic Document Reliefs. Art and Politics in Ancient Athens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Kasper-Butz, *Athena*; Nick, *Athena Parthenos*.

⁷¹ Notably E. Berger, "Eine Athena aus dem späten 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.," *Antike Kunst* 10 (1967), 82-88; G. Waywell, "Athena Mattei," *BSA* 66 (1971), 374-382.

⁷² The question of the individual's experience vis-à-vis the statue is often significant in such research. Any such survey presupposes to some extent the existence of a Greek (artistic) koine – a kind of 'globalization' of the Greek world, dominated by 'international' artistic personalities, at least from Classical times onwards, which makes up for the fact that most extant statue types cannot with any certainty be traced back to their original locations, place of production, or sculptor's workshop.

⁷³ Niemeyer, *Promachos*. The notion of artistic regional identities – as any question of identity – is, of course, a problematic one: cf. J. Raeder, "Kunstlandschaft und Landschaftsstil", in: *Der Stilbegriff in den Altertumswissenschaften* (Rostock: Institut für Altertumswissenschaften, 1993), 105-109. See also M.R. Hofter, "Stil – Ontologie der Form oder wissenschaftliche Methode?", *ibid.*, 37-40.

can see that, while retaining a basic, panhellenic, warlike quality, the iconography of Athena is strongly influenced by the varying local conditions.⁷⁴ In Archaic East Greece, for example, outside influence had a clear impact on the form of Anatolian features adopted through the Greeks' contact with their Eastern neighbours. In the Classical period, Athens clearly played a dominant role in shaping Athena's iconography, but individual traits continue to be visible in some regions, and even if Athenian models were used elsewhere, these were adapted to suit local needs. Similar conclusions regarding the adaptability of sculptural types in Hellenistic Egypt are reached by Elsie Mathiopoulos in this volume.

9. *Society and religion*

Coinciding with an increasing interest in the way contemporary society works, the social function of Greek religion and myth, the importance of which was demonstrated by Durkheim at the beginning of the twentieth century, has been a focus of intensified research, especially since the 1960s.

The study of initiation rites has uncovered Athena's role in the socialisation of youths and young women across, and also beyond, Greece, as is discussed in relation to Lavinium by Fritz Graf in this volume. In keeping with her role as patron of civic institutions – most notably in her joint cults (as Athena Phratria, with Zeus Phratrion) – she played a role in overseeing young men's entry to citizenship, and young women's transition to the status of citizen wives.⁷⁵

As the protectress of many Greek cities, she had other important social functions, too. She was worshipped with great festivals, which often included athletic and military displays and games, and which

⁷⁴ A.C. Villing, *The Iconography of Athena in Mainland Greece and the East Greek World in the 5th and 4th Centuries BC.* (DPhil Oxford University, 1997). See also ead., "Aspects of Athena in the Greek Polis: Sparta and Corinth", in *What is a God? Studies in the Nature of Greek Divinity*, ed. A.B. Lloyd (London: Duckworth/Classical Press of Wales, 1997), 81-100; ead., "Ergane and Promachos".

⁷⁵ For this role of Athena at Athens and elsewhere, see esp. P. Schmitt, "Athéna Apatouria et la ceinture: Les aspects féminins des Apatouries à Athènes", in *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 32 (1977), 1059-1073; P. Brulé, *La fille d'Athènes: La religion des filles à Athènes à l'époque classique: Mythes, cultes et société* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1987); cf. also A.C. Villing, "ΚΕΣΤΟΣ, ΖΩΣΤΗΡ and Athena's Crossband Aegis: Anatomy of a Classical Attribute", in *PERIPLUS. To Sir John Boardman From His Pupils and Friends*, ed. G. Tsatsikis, A. Snodgrass, and J. Prag, (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), 61-70.

drew together the worshipping group(s) and expressed their common identity. The study of these festivals and their related myths has been a consistent feature of scholarship on religion.⁷⁶

The recent emphasis on function and social context has also made its mark on the study of ancient art. Scholars such as Fehr and Kasper-Butz have analysed the iconography of Athena in relation to Athenian domestic and foreign politics, and have shown how she functioned as a representative of Athenian political ideas, and stood both for imperialistic power, and democracy. In a parallel way, a recent study by Gmyrek has traced the use of Minerva as an instrument of power by Roman emperors.⁷⁷ A major concern in the current volume, too, is the assessment of Athena's iconography in the context of the interplay between local political and religious functions, such as in Archaic Corinth (Stefan Ritter), Hellenistic Alexandria (Elsie Mathiopoulos) and Pergamon (Antonia Fanta). Such interplay is, of course, not restricted to art alone: written records can play a similar role in the mediation between religious and political concerns, as may be seen in the case of the Lindian Chronicle, which makes use of Homeric epic in order to (re)create local cult history (see Carolyn Higbie's chapter in this volume), or in Augustan Rome, where ancient myths play a role in contemporary ideology (see Sarah Spence, this volume).

10. *Local cults and functions: Athens and beyond*

Other approaches have further enhanced our understanding of Athena's role in the contexts of society, sacred and political space, and imagery in the *poleis* and regions of Greece.

The systematic study of sacred space has become an important focus of archaeological studies, particularly since de Polignac's seminal study of the role of sanctuaries in the spatial organisation of, and interaction between, early *poleis*. This has been coupled with a greater general focus on the *polis* as the basic organisational unit of

⁷⁶ See, e.g., Noel Robertson's studies into original common elements underlying rites linked to Athena: id., *Festivals and Legends. The Formation of Greek Cities in the Light of Public Ritual*. Phoenix Suppl. 31 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); id., "Early Greek Society".

⁷⁷ C. Gmyrek, *Römische Kaiser und griechische Göttin: die religiös-politische Funktion der Athena/Minerva in der Selbst- und Reichsdarstellung der römischen Kaiser* (Milan: Edizioni ennera, 1998).

Archaic and Classical Greece. Within these contexts, much important work is being done into Athena's role as the central goddess of *poleis*, who was typically worshipped on *acropoleis*, and was as such contrasted to deities located elsewhere in, or beyond, the city.⁷⁸ Attention has, however, also been paid to deviations from the perceived normative pattern of Athena worship, revealing how, at times she is situated in a 'marginal' position, too.⁷⁹

Owing to Athena's crucially important place in Athens, her character and role in the city has rightly retained a central place in scholarship, due in particular to the work of Nicole Loraux and Jenifer Neils.⁸⁰ In recent years this has been matched by a growing interest in representations of Athena beyond Athens, and a recognition of the dangers of imposing structures and concerns that might be peculiar to Athens onto evidence from other cities and regions. A contextualized assessment of the local incarnations of Athena reveals considerable variation in the goddess's character. For example, we find that she was prominent as a city protectress in many *poleis*, but that she also played a role in more tribal and less centralised areas, particularly of central and northern Greece, as a military guardian deity of leagues of cities, or as a more 'personal' patron deity of the royal house.⁸¹ In line with these crucially important developments, a recurrent theme of this volume is the inadequacy of Athenian models for making sense of Athena throughout

⁷⁸ E.g., M. Jost, "The Distribution of Sanctuaries in Civic Space in Arcadia", in *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece*, ed. R. Osborne and S. Alcock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 217-230.

⁷⁹ See e.g. R. Osborne, "Archaeology, the Salaminioi, and the Politics of Sacred Space in Archaic Attica", in *Placing the Gods*, ed. id. and Alcock, 155-156, 158-159; cf. the findings in Robertson, "Palladium Shrines". Robertson has also discussed many lesser-known shrines of Athena located at city gates, harbours, and on travelled coastlines across Greece. The arrangements he identifies, which are often seemingly random, may, in fact, reflect underlying patterns and functions rooted in prehistorical times. Id., "Early Greek Society". Also, as Hector Williams and Gerry Schaus demonstrate in this volume, the sanctuary on the acropolis of Stymphalos may belong to Athena, even though some of its votive offerings appear unusual for this goddess.

⁸⁰ See esp. Loraux, *Children*; Brulé, *Fille d' Athènes*; Neils, *Goddess and Polis*; ead., *Worshipping Athena*; and also Neils' chapter in this volume, together with those by Wagner, Altripp, Karanika, and Papadopoulou.

⁸¹ Villing, "Aspects"; ead., *Iconography*.

Greece, and the diversity of the goddess throughout, and beyond, the Greek world.⁸²

III. Athena in the Classical World: The shape of this volume

Earlier scholars tried to encapsulate Athena, some by attempting to uncover her origins, others by identifying one overriding quality for which she stood: witness Otto's view of her as the 'goddess of nearness', or Müller's as the dawn. More recently, however, scholars have moved away from such rigid formulations, and there has been an increasing tendency to acknowledge and embrace the multiplicity of images which surround her. In line with this recognition of her multifaceted nature, this volume draws together scholars from different disciplines and backgrounds who are united by a common interest in the goddess. We will end this section with an overview of the following chapters. This will be kept brief since reference has already been made to many of them.

The first section, on Athena in cult, ritual and myth, is opened by Noel Robertson's investigation of the origins and significance of one of Athena's most important and persistent attributes, the aegis. This is followed by an analysis by Anastasia Serghidou of one of her most fascinating spheres of activity – music. The next three chapters are, broadly speaking, concerned with the contribution of archaeological fieldwork and literary sources to our knowledge of Athena's cultic persona in three poleis. Hector Williams and Gerald Schaus' joint chapter investigates the sanctuary of Athena (?) at Stymphalos, while Claudia Wagner and Carolyn Higbie each discuss votive offerings and practices, on the Athenian Acropolis (Wagner), and at Lindos (Higbie). The final chapter, by Fritz Graf, moves beyond Greece, and examines Athena's relationship with Minerva.

The second section examines artistic representations. It begins with two studies into the diversity of Athena throughout Greece as

⁸² See especially the chapters by Williams and Schaus, Graf, Ritter, Fanta, and Mathiopoulos. On local representations and their differences from Athenian material, see also S.J. Deacy, "Athena in Boiotia: Local Tradition and Cultural Identity", in *Boeotia Antiqua V: Studies on Boiotian Topography, Cults and Terracottas*, ed. J. Fossey (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1995), 91-103; Villing, "Aspects"; ead., "Ergane and Promachos".

manifested in artistic representations in Corinth (Stefan Ritter) and Pergamon (Antonia Fanta). Particular consideration is given in each of these chapters to the interplay between religious and political influence on the goddess's iconography. Two chapters on statue types follow. Ina Altripp considers the development of fourth-century statue types in the context of contemporary developments in art and religion, and Elsie Mathiopoulos investigates the transformation of a statue type of Athena in Ptolemaic Egypt, under the influence of local religious and political developments. Athena's close, and crucially important, relationship with her father Zeus is the topic of Jenifer Neils' study of Archaic and Classical Athens. Her place within ancient female gender constructions is then studied by Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones with respect to surprising 'sexy' traits in her artistic representations. Finally, Alexandra Karentzos explores the image of Athena in art at the turn of the nineteenth century and her use in constructions of gender at this time – a topic which also raises the issue of modern conceptions shaping our view of ancient Athena.

The third section is concerned with literary accounts of the goddess. It opens with Andromache Karanika's assessment of the influence of Homeric epic on Athena's cult at Athens. Thalia Papadopoulou then investigates Athena's role in tragedy, and Silvia Milanezi explores the place of laughter in representations of Athena in epic, mock-epic, and elsewhere, from Homeric times onward. Epic is further examined in Sarah Spence's chapter, which traces the role of Pallas/Minerva in Augustan Rome, notably in Virgil's *Aeneid*. Looking further afield, and in particular to the East, Annette Teffetteller examines Athena's Anatolian heritage, and Nick Allen traces the goddess's Indo-European roots in relation to Durgā, her 'sister' in Sanskrit epic.

The contributions are diverse in terms of scope and approach, each aiming to enhance our understanding of Athena, and to be a source of inspiration for new ideas and interpretations.

PART ONE

CULT, RITUAL AND MYTH

CHAPTER TWO

ATHENA AS WEATHER GODDESS: THE *AIGIS*
IN MYTH AND RITUAL

Noel Robertson

The aigis

The *aigis* is a property of both Athena and Zeus. Zeus shakes it (*Il.* 4.167, etc.), and this ‘shaking’ – rather than ‘riding’ or ‘holding’, the alternative suggestions – produces his ancient formulaic epithet αἰγίοχος.¹ Athena, however, wears it on her upper body (*Il.* 5.738, etc.). Since Athena is a favourite deity in ancient art, the *aigis* is a favourite subject for artistic rendering. And yet it has never been satisfactorily explained: being perhaps the commonest visible object in the ancient world of which this must be said. I shall explain it as a festival custom that was once current throughout the Greek homeland, even though, like most festival customs, it is never explicitly described in our sources. In pursuing this question of origin, I do not discount interpretations of the *aigis* which treat it rather as a symbol of art and poetry; such it undoubtedly became.

Some suppose that it even originated as a symbol, representing Zeus’ and Athena’s power to make war or to raise storms.² Yet this only begs the question, for a symbol will be derived from the world we know, from some actual means of making war or raising storms. Why else would a symbol be now shaken, now worn? As an actual object it has sometimes been considered a primitive sort of shield,

¹ The second element appears to be the same as in Poseidon’s epithet γαίηοχος, which – like ἐννοσίγαιος, ἐνοσίχθων, ἐλελίχθων, σεισίχθων – should mean ‘earth-shaking’. A root **wegh-* ‘shake’, homonymous with the undoubted root meaning ‘ride’, and appearing also in Latin *vexo*, was posited by A. Meillet: P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1968-1980) s.v. αἰγίς, γῆ, ὄχλος.

² E.g. Preller-Robert 119-121 (‘ancient nature symbolism’); S. Vierck, in *LIMC* 8 (1997), 510-511 s.v. Aigis (‘a mythical object’, ‘an object that did not really exist’).

which the epic tradition then conferred on Zeus and Athena.³ Both Homer and vase paintings have at times this notion of a shield; yet it is for the most part quite unsatisfactory, and has just as often been dismissed.⁴ More feasibly, the *aigis* has been thought an instrument of weather magic: the shaking is the onset of wind and rain.⁵ Such a practice is illustrated by ethnographic parallels; so it cannot be dismissed out of hand. But it still leaves much to be explained. We shall not understand the *aigis* without examining festival custom.

Herodotus on Libya

Herodotus knows the *aigis* as an article of dress for the cult statue called Palladium (4.189.1-2), which stood in many Greek cities. It was an upper garment, placed over the full-length robe; it was a goatskin, an undoubted meaning of αἰγίς (Fig. 1).⁶ Similar forms are used for other animal skins, e.g. ἄλωπεκίς, ἄρνακίς, βурсίς, διφθερίς, νεβρίς; the same form recurs in Dionysus' epithet μελάναιγις, evoking another ritual goatskin.⁷ In Herodotus' view, the *aigis* came to Greece from abroad, like so much else.

It came from Libya, where all the women wear goatskin mantles, and where too, at least near Lake Tritonis, a native goddess is wor-

³ E.g. P. Stengel, *RE* 1.1 (1893), 970-972 s.v. Aigis (but he admits nature symbolism as a rival concept inherent in the word); Nilsson, *GGR* 1², 436-437 ("the earliest protection in battle"); R.L. Fowler, "AIG in early Greek language and myth", *Phoenix* 42 (1988), 104-105, 110-112, especially 112 ("in primitive days, [Zeus'] armour was a goatskin shield"). In the Homeric scholia, ὄπλον Διός is the commonest of several explanations.

⁴ E.g. F. Dümmler, in *RE* 2.2 (1896), 1942-1943, 1989-1990, 1994 s.v. Athena; K. Kerényi, *Die Jungfrau und Mutter der griechischen Religion. Eine Studie über Pallas Athene* (Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1952), 60.

⁵ S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1893), 27; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Munich: Beck, 1906) 822-823; W. Fiedler, *Antiker Wetterzauber* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1931), 49-50; W. Richter, in *RE* 10A (1972), 429-430 s.v. Ziege; W. Schwabl, in *RE Suppl.* 15 (1978), 1020-1021 s.v. Zeus.

⁶ Some suppose that Herodotus did not know the *aigis* as an actual goatskin, but only linked it etymologically with the αἰγέαι of Libyan women. Yet he scrupulously notes the physical differences between the Libyan original and the Greek derivative. In Libya the robe as well is leather, and the *aigis* fringe is of thongs, never snakes. He could not speak thus if the *aigis* had so changed that it was no longer a goatskin at all.

⁷ For Dionysus *melanaigis*, see Robertson, "Melanthus, Codrus, Neleus, Caucon: ritual myth as Athenian history", *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 29 (1988), 206-215.

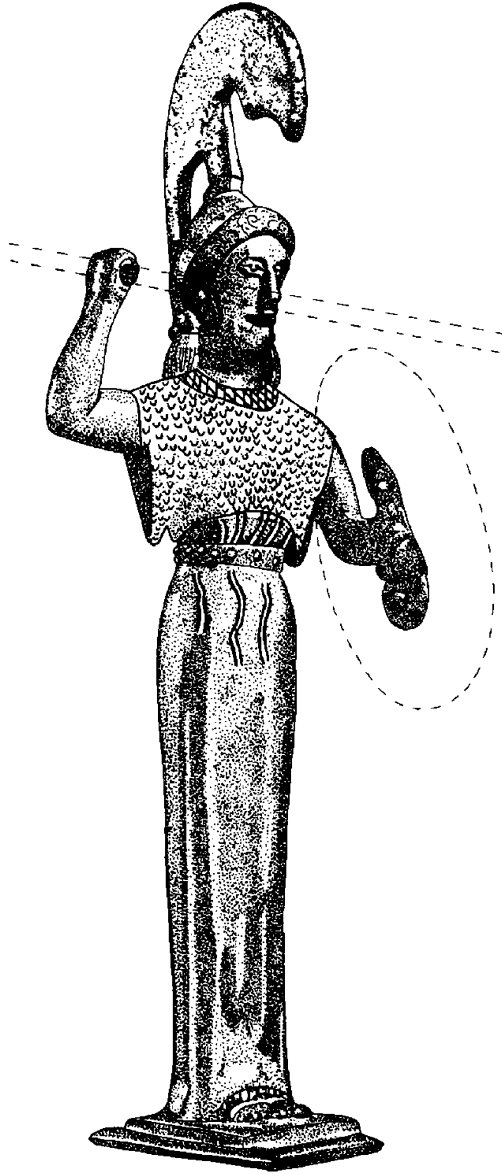


Fig. 1 Bronze statuette from the region of Messene, second half of the sixth century. Mariemont Museum B 31. Drawing by M. Wedde

shipped who is exactly like Athena (Hdt. 4.180.2-5, 188). At her festival, a Libyan maiden dresses as the goddess and rides in a chariot in procession, and a ceremonial combat is staged between two teams of maidens. The implication is clear. All these things came to Greece from Libya, from the region of Tritonis, famous in myth as Athena's birth-place (Aesch. *Eum.* 292-293, etc.). The maiden's armour is recognizably Athena's, a Corinthian helmet and a shield; the Greek goddess is known for riding in a chariot; she is worshipped with grand processions. The same must be true of the ceremonial combat. Herodotus' account of this festival custom, though transposed to Libya, is in effect direct evidence for the general run of Greek cities.

Of course the Libyan prototype (whatever mixture of truth and fantasy went into it) is also picturesquely different. The combat is between maidens, and any who die are proved 'false maidens'. Throughout these chapters, Herodotus has much to say of the Libyan women, who wear leather and anklets, and are unsequestered, beautiful, and promiscuous. The maidens can probably be subtracted from the Greek equivalent. For the rest, Herodotus seeks to demonstrate that the worship of Athena as we know it, in respect of statues and processions and ceremonial combats, is borrowed from Libya.

Legendary combats

The ceremonial combat is a distinctive event in Athena's worship. Admittedly, there is not a single literal report. Instead, we have legends. Festival customs always give rise to stories of how the customs originated. Such stories are conventionally called αἵτια or 'aetiologies', but the terms are misleading insofar as they imply that the purpose was to provide an authoritative explanation. The purpose was more often to be clever and diverting: a general purpose of storytelling. Once, long ago, something very strange was done as a sudden, exciting, important exploit. Ever since, this secular episode has been repeated as a festival custom. As a rule, the legend does not even remark the commemorative custom; it does not need to. The custom was once before the eyes of everyone. But it is invisible to us, and so we often miss the relationship between custom and legend. Now there are many legends about Palladium images in Greek

cities.⁸ We shall examine those in which the details point to our festival custom, a ceremonial combat.

The legend that most endeared itself was of the Trojan Palladium, afterwards claimed by several Greek cities as their own.⁹ It was stolen out of Troy by Odysseus and Diomedes, and they fought over it, or there was a general set-to in the Greek camp. Sometimes the dispute is over two Palladium images, one true and one false, which were respectively concealed and displayed (Figs. 2-3). Obviously, the duplication enhances the importance of this talisman. But it also corresponds to a fact, which will soon emerge, about the actual Palladium of any Greek city: at different times it was placed in two different locations.

Athens has her own Palladium legend, again with a combat.¹⁰ The Argives returning from Troy put in at Phalerum, and there, in different versions recounted by several of the Attic chroniclers, the Athenians fight these unrecognized intruders for possession of Troy's Palladium, which is afterwards carried up from the port to the city. Two curious details must be taken from the life. First, the leader of the winning side, who is Demophon in the legend, rides in a chariot with the Palladium. Second, when Athenians and Argives afterwards adjudicate the matter at the court of the Palladium, there are fifty representatives on either side. The number presumably matches that of the combatants.

Another city that is credited with the original Palladium of Troy is, oddly, Siris in Italy. There are at least two different stories, perhaps more (our sources are unclear), of how a group of suppliants were slain right beside the statue.¹¹ It shuts its eyes, and we recall that once before, when Cassandra was assaulted, its eyes flashed, or rolled up, or turned away.¹² The victims at Siris, when this is made explicit, are fifty lads, one of them a priest of the goddess (Just. *Epit.* 20.2.4). Now it is well agreed that these stories, like so many others about the Greeks in the west, are largely or entirely due to the historian

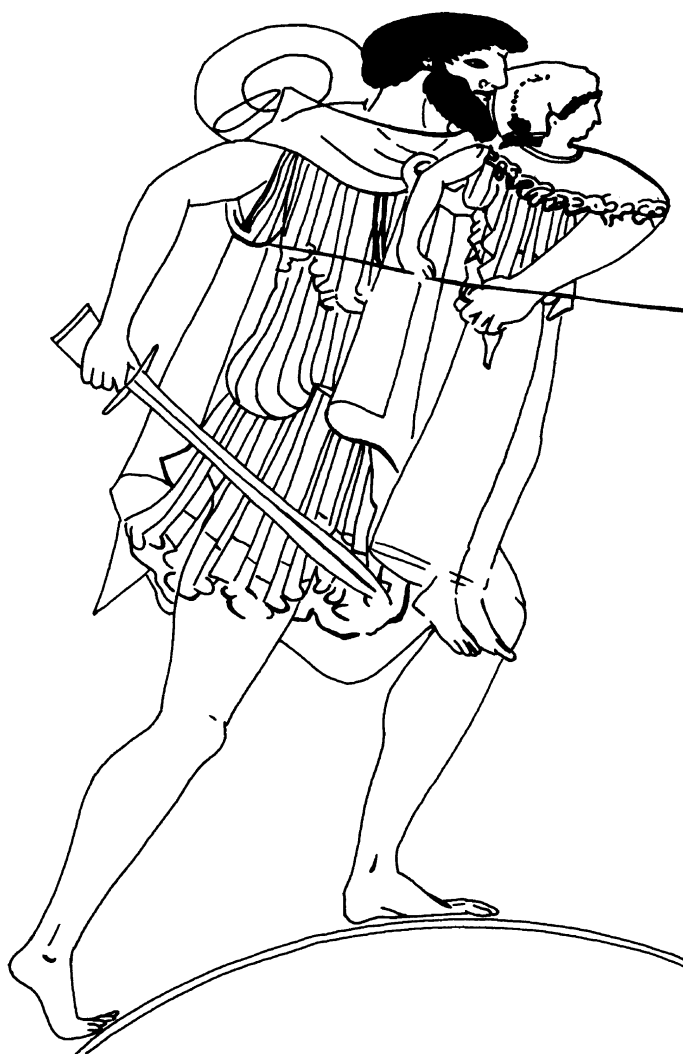
⁸ N. Robertson, "Athena and early Greek society: Palladium shrines and promontory shrines", in *Religion in the Ancient World: New Themes and Approaches*, ed. M. Dillon (Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert, 1996), 389-438.

⁹ Robertson, "Palladium shrines", 430-438.

¹⁰ Robertson, "Palladium shrines", 402-408.

¹¹ Lycoph. *Alex.* 984-992, with schol.; Strabo 6.1.14, p. 624; Just. *Epit.* 20.2.3-8.

¹² Robertson, "Palladium shrines", 409, 433. In effect the Palladium appears twice in the tale of Troy, as the talisman that must be stolen before the city's fall, and as the last place of refuge in the sack.



Figs. 2 and 3 Red-figure cup, c. 480 BC. St. Petersburg, Hermitage 649. (ARV² 460.13; Makron.) Drawing by M. Wedde

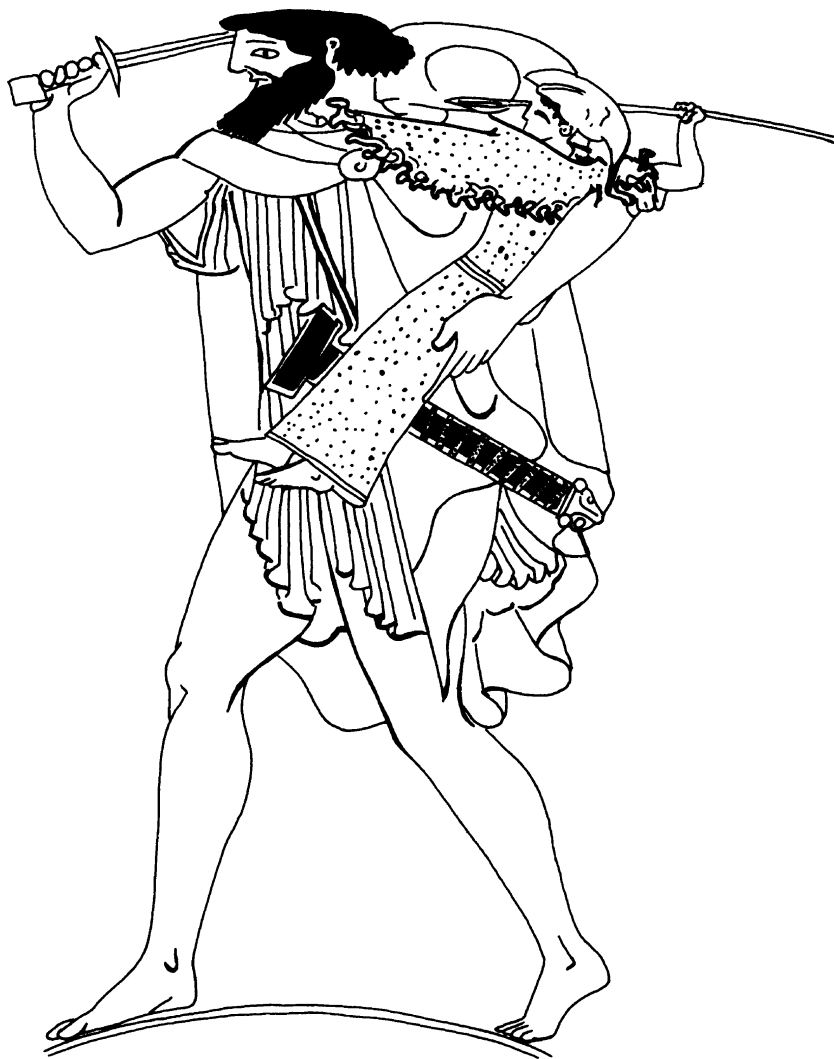


Fig. 3

Timaeus.¹³ In the case of Siris and its Palladium, his imagination had free rein, since this Ionian city was wholly destroyed in the mid sixth century (it is the occasion for one of the stories). Timaeus lived and wrote at Athens during some fifty years in the late fourth century and the early third, a time when Athens' Palladium was still held in honour, and when its Trojan pedigree was earnestly maintained by the Attic chroniclers. Timaeus' fictions are probably inspired by the same Athenian complex of ritual and legend.

The combat scenario occurs at other cities without reference to the Palladium of Troy. At Achaean Pellene it is conflated with a historical event.¹⁴ Pellene's temple and statue of Athena were famous, conformably with the city name (a variant of 'Pallene', from 'Pallas'). In 241 BC Pellene was the site of a memorable victory by Aratus and his Achaean troops over the Aetolians. It was celebrated in literature and depicted in a famous painting. As for details, besides the factual report which Plutarch found in Aratus' *Memoirs*, three quite fanciful accounts survive that give credit instead to the local citizens and to the local image of Athena. The image looks out at the battle and heartens the citizens and terrifies the enemy. In the fullest account, it is a small wooden image that is carried forth by the priestess for just this purpose: it is a Palladium. Another version makes it a priestess instead, "fairest and tallest of the maidens", who happens to be dressed exactly like Athena. This adds an extra measure of human interest, as do the two seeming Athenas in Herodotus, the Libyan maiden and Peisistratus' statuesque companion (of whom more below).¹⁵

Thebes has a Palladium which is not so called, but is easily recognized. Like the Palladium of Troy, it goes back to the very founding of the city, in this case by Cadmus.¹⁶ This is the only foundation legend for any city of the Greek homeland, and it is generally taken to be very old. Cadmus sacrifices to Athena and also sets up her image at the site of the combat of earth-born warriors. Five of these war-

¹³ F. Jacoby on Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F 51-52; L. Pearson, *The Greek Historians of the West. Timaeus and his Predecessors*. APA Monograph 35 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 110-111.

¹⁴ N. Robertson, "The origin of the Panathenaea", *Rh. Mus.* n.s. 128 (1985), 252-253, and "Palladium shrines", 419-423.

¹⁵ In all such stories the girl or woman is tall and beautiful, like Athena in the mind's eye, though not quite like the actual Palladium statue. The stories also dwell on the iconic items of dress: L. Llewellyn-Jones, this volume, p. 224 note 24.

¹⁶ Robertson, "Palladium shrines", 423-427.

riors survive, as if to account for the multiple fifty in subsequent combats.

One other combat site deserves mention: Pallene in Attica, with an old regional cult of Athena – which no doubt explains the name, as at Achaean Pellene. It witnessed combats between Athena and the giants, between Theseus and Pallas, between Demophon and Eurystheus, between Peisistratus and his enemies.¹⁷ By pure chance we have also a literal mention of a stone-throwing fight at Pallene (Ar. *Ach.* 234-236, with schol.); in this country deme the ritual may have degenerated into something like horseplay.¹⁸ In the legends, the same details recur. Pallas' fifty sons are matched against Theseus and a band of young companions, doubtless of equal number.¹⁹ Eurystheus in just this battle has five sons, who are all killed. He rides in a chariot, and so does his adversary Hyllus. In yet another story (Hdt. 1.60.3-5), Peisistratus rides in a chariot with a pretended Athena beside him: he goes to Athens city from Pallene or thereabouts. Thus did Demophon ride in a chariot from Phalerum to Athens city with the Palladium of Troy. Thus did the Libyan maiden ride in a chariot round Lake Tritonis, herself a virtual Palladium.

This completes our check-list of legends. They are all about fighting beside a Palladium statue. Some legends, those of Troy and Thebes, must be very old. Others, those of Phalerum and Pallene in Attica, may not be so old; they are, however, independent local legends, and not mere doublets of the older ones. Timaeus with his eye on Phalerum contrived similar stories for Siris in Italy. At Pellene in Achaia a battle that took place in the full light of history was linked with the Palladium in three much embroidered versions which contradict each other and also the recorded facts. What has prompted these numerous tales? Surely it is some customary event that was

¹⁷ Athena and the giants: Preller-Robert 70, 76; F. Vian, *La guerre des géants* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1952), 261-262, 274-277. Theseus and Pallas: C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1920-26), 729-730; H. Herter, in *RE Suppl.* 13 (1973), 1091-1093 s.v. Theseus 1. Demophon and Eurystheus: Robert, *Heldensage*, 605, 653-656; N. Robertson, *Festivals and Legends. The Formation of Greek Cities in the Light of Public Ritual*. *Phoenix* Suppl. 31 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 53-54. Peisistratus and his enemies: Robertson, *Festivals and Legends*, 140-141, 143.

¹⁸ See Robertson, "Palladium shrines", 407 note 82.

¹⁹ A red-figure hydria, *ARV*² 571.76 = *Para* 395.76, shows a youth being elaborately purified by five women. If this is Theseus, the number may point to the fifty Palantidae: see Herter, *RE Suppl.* 13, 1080, 1092.

performed with punctilio and observed with curiosity; surely it is a ceremonial combat such as Herodotus attests.

The ephebes at Phalerum

At this point we must resort to Athens, which is not the fountainhead of Athena's worship but happens to preserve the only documentary details we have concerning the Palladium. The details do not include a ceremonial combat, though a fifth-century inscription offers an intriguing hint. The Palladium has the epithet *Δηριώνειον* 'Deri-oneian', referring to a person **Δηρίων* or **Δηριωνεύς* who is named (like a few other mythical and actual persons) for *δῆρις* 'strife', 'contest'.²⁰ Presumably he was the hero of some legend that has not survived, perhaps even a hero of cult. Apart from the combat, Athenian sources describe a festival occasion in Phalerum that matches the legends we have seen.

Each year in the later Hellenistic period, the corps of ephebes assisted at a festival in which the Palladium was twice carried in procession.²¹ The first procession was at the old port of Phalerum. The second was from Phalerum to Athens city, and was called 'bringing in Pallas'. In one inscription, the ephebes are joined by 'the *gennētai*'

²⁰ *IG* 1³ 369 = ML 72, in recording two parallel series of loans from 'the Other Gods' in 423/2 BC, twice refers to 'Athena at the Palladium' (lines 73, 90), and the first mention adds the epithet: ἐπὶ Παλλαδίοι Δεριονέοι. Mythical names are *Δηρινόη* and *Δηριμαχεΐη*, Amazons in Quintus Smyrnaeus; *Δηριόδης* the Indian king in Nonnus; *Δηρείτης* an ancient and archetypal Spartan king in Pausanias: combative persons all. Historical ones are *Δηριμένης* and *Δῆρις* (*LGP* 1 and 3A).

²¹ *IG* 2² 1006, lines 11-12, 75-76; 1008, lines 9-10; 1111, lines 10-11; *Hesp.* 16 (1947), 170-172 no. 67 (+ *IG* 2² 1009), line 19. In the solemn language of these decrees it is not the statue but the goddess herself, 'Pallas', whom the ephebes escort; it is likewise 'Dionysus' whom they escort to the theatre (note 26 below). 'Pallas' is, however, sufficiently precise – it denotes the Palladium. Some think instead of a statue on the Acropolis, as if 'Pallas' were no more than a literary synonym for Athena. That is not the way of ephebic inscriptions. Cults are identified as clearly as they need be: e.g. 'Athena Polias' (*IG* 2² 930, line 6; 1039, lines 5, 57), 'Athena Nike' (*IG* 2² 1006, line 14). For fuller discussion, see Robertson, *Festivals and Legends*, 136-138, 140-143; id., "Palladium shrines", 398-402. R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 307-308, like others before him, identifies our occasion as the Plynteria 'Washing rites'. But this, by all analogy, is a fresh-water bath and laundry on the Acropolis: see Robertson, "Athena's shrines and festivals", in *Worshipping Athena. Panathenaia and Parthenon*, ed. J. Neils (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 31-36, 48-52.

(IG 2² 1011, line 11). The *genos* Buzygae supplied an officiant known as ‘the Buzyges and priest of Zeus at the Palladium’; in the Roman period an incumbent was authorized by the Delphic oracle ‘to fashion a second statue of Pallas’ (IG 2² 3177, lines 2-3, cf. 3178), perhaps because the original was falling to pieces.²² Before any of these inscriptions, Philochorus spoke of ‘the procession for Pallas’, ‘when the *xoanon* was carried to the sea’, as a responsibility of one of the least-known boards of Athenian magistrates, the seven *nomophylakes* (FGrH 328 F 64).²³

Athens’ Palladium usually stood at a strategic point just outside a city gate at the southeast: this was the site, ‘at the Palladium’, of one of the ancient homicide courts. Other evidence gives us the exact location, the spur of ‘Windmill Hill’ on which the famous Ilissus temple, the temple drawn by Stuart and Revett, was once to be seen.²⁴ This temple for the Palladium statue was nearly a doublet of the temple of Athena Nike at the Acropolis gate.²⁵ We can assume that in the second procession involving the ephebes, the Palladium was carried back to its appointed place in the temple – from which it must have been removed at some earlier time. The name Ἰτωνία ‘processional’ is sometimes given to both Athena and the nearby gate (ns. 55-56 below).

It is not that the Palladium was removed from the temple, and carried to Phalerum, in the first procession involving the ephebes. On this point the inscriptions have always been misunderstood, just because such a procession has seemed the obvious prelude. Yet the language is clear. The first procession is ‘at Phalerum’; the second is a longer procession, over the road back to Athens.²⁶ In one inscription,

²² For both *genos* and officiant, see Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 286-287, 289. In later times, the officiant is associated rather with the *genos* Γεφυραῖοι: SEG 30 (1980), 85, lines 10-12, 18-19; etc. Cf. Lydus *Mens.* 4.15, apropos of the Roman pontifex: ἐν Ἀθήναις τὸ πάλαι Γεφυραῖοι πάντες οἱ περὶ τὰ πάτρια ἱερὰ ἐξηγηταί... ὀνομάζοντο διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς γεφύρας τοῦ Σπερχεῖου ποταμοῦ ἱερατεύειν τῷ Παλλαδίῳ. *Lege* Ἰλισσοῦ? As we are about to see, the Palladium shrine was right beside an Ilissus bridge.

²³ On the *nomophylakes*, see R.W. Wallace, *The Areopagus Council, to 307 BC* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 55-58, 202-204; also note 49 below.

²⁴ Robertson, ‘Palladium shrines’, 395-397. The clinching evidence is the temple frieze, discussed below.

²⁵ M.M. Miles, *The Athenian Agora 31. The City Eleusinion* (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1998), 45, cites recent work on both.

²⁶ Most inscriptions say that the ephebes brought out the statue ‘at Phalerum, and from there’ brought it in again: συνεξήγαγον δὲ καὶ τὴν Παλλάδα Φαληροῖ,

briefier than the others, the first procession is not mentioned at all, only the second, which is more important. Before the festival of the two processions, the Palladium had been kept at some temporary site in Phalerum. We shall come back to this below.

Between the two processions something was done at or near Phalerum. The festival in question presumably began in the morning, and the second procession, up to Athens, took place at night, by torchlight, as we are informed (*IG* 2² 1006, line 11). The intervening business fell in the afternoon. What it was is not disclosed by those inscriptions that merely praise the ephebes for marching in the two processions. Yet there are tantalizing hints.

Once, in a very late inscription, the *kosmêtês* or ephebic supervisor receives a grandiose title: ἡνίοχος Παλλάδος ‘charioteer of Pallas’ (*IG* 2² 2245, line 299, AD 254/5). The title recalls the several legends about a chariot ride with Athena or with her image. In one of them, Demophon rides from Phalerum to Athens after the battle with the Argives. We have seen that the actual processions are accompanied by ‘the *gennêtai*’, i.e. the *genos* Buzygae who supply a priesthood at the Palladium shrine. In a legend about the Palladium of Troy, it is brought to Athens by the eponym Buzyges while the Greeks in camp do battle over a false Palladium (Polyaenus, *Strat.* 1.5, after one of the Attic chroniclers).

The anthippasia

So the ephebic inscriptions match the legends in peripheral details but understandably omit the main event, the ceremonial combat, in which the ephebes were not concerned. If we cast about for a cere-

κάκειθεν πάλιν συνεισήγαγον, *vel sim.* And in most inscriptions the ephebes are praised next for a similar action (the usual principle of arrangement), bringing in the statue of Dionysus to the theatre, whether at Peiraeus or at Athens. One inscription conjoins the three occasions: *Hesp.* 16 (1947), 170-172 no. 67 (+ *IG* 2² 1009), lines 19-20, εἰσήγαγον δὲ τήν τε Παλλάδα καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐν τε Πειραιεὶ καὶ ἐν ἄστει ‘they brought in both Pallas and Dionysus, [the latter] both in Peiraeus and in the city’. The prior action of removing the Palladium statue from its shrine in Athens was of less moment, like the prior disposition of Dionysus’ statue, and did not involve the ephebes – though it is probably included in the responsibility of the *nomophylakes* as described by Philochorus. As for the local procession ‘at Phalerum’, it is once said of the *kosmêtês* that he παρέπεμψε ‘marched along with’ the statue there (*IG* 2² 1006, lines 75-76); in the local procession of Dionysus at Peiraeus, the ephebes likewise παρήγαγον ‘brought along’ the sacrificial bull (*IG* 2² 1008, lines 13-14).

monial combat at Phalerum, we shall find one in Xenophon's essay *On the Cavalry Commander* (3.10-13).

Athens' cavalry perform a ceremonial combat called *anthippasia* in the Hippodrome, which was somewhere on the low level ground near the shore. Two teams each of five *phylai* alternately charge and flee in a precise interlocking formation. It is a traditional display and competition which in Hellenistic times, but not before, was added to other festival programs, at the Panathenaea and at the Olympieia.

The teams of five *phylai* recall the contingents of fifty in the legends, which are sometimes replaced by five representatives. A fragmentary law of Lycurgus that aims to refurbish various Athenian cults mentions 'fifty *aegides*' (*IG* 2² 333+ = C.J. Schwenk, *Athens in the Age of Alexander* [Chicago: Ares, 1985] 21, line 11). Perhaps these attributes of the Palladium were carried in procession by all the members of the winning team.

Placing the aegis on the Palladium

The upshot is that the Palladium seems to be at the centre of a ceremonial combat. Now we return to the *aegis*. As Herodotus tells us, and as we see in many vase paintings, the *aegis* is a usual feature of the Palladium image, together with helmet, long robe, and lifted spear.²⁷ Once again certain stories are informative. They distinctly imply that the *aegis* was placed on the Palladium just when the combat took place. They are stories of Athena's birth, or of her upbringing, or of how she first went into battle.

Athena at her birth leapt from Zeus' head furious and shrieking, ready for war.²⁸ Stesichorus and others say that she was fully armed; on vases we always see helmet, spear, and shield, sometimes even the *aegis*. In the fullest account, a hexameter poem quoted by Chrysippus, Metis cunningly fashioned the *aegis* while she sat in Zeus' abdomen, 'and with it [Zeus] gave birth to [Athena], arrayed in arms'.

²⁷ The *aegis* in art, chiefly vase-painting, has been treated lately by P.A. Marx, "The introduction of the Gorgoneion to the shield and aegis of Athena and the question of Endoios", *RA* 1993, 239-256, and K.J. Hartswick, "The Gorgoneion on the aegis of Athena: genesis, suppression and survival", *RA* 1993, 269-278.

²⁸ Hes. *Theog.* 924-926; [Hes.] fr. 343, lines 13-19 = Chrysippus fr. 908 von Arnim; *Hom. Hymn* 28, lines 4-10; Stesichorus fr. 233; Pind. *Ol.* 7, 34-38; Epicharm. P. Colon. 5604 = Austin, *CGFP* fr. 85a; Callim. *Aet* 1?, fr. 37. Pictorial renderings: *LIMC* 2 (1984), 986-990 s.v. Athena 334-378, pls. 742-747 (P. Demargne and H. Casimatis); also J. Neils, this volume, pp. 227 ff.

Later stories, more prosaic and quasi-realistic (a fashion sometimes called 'Euhemerist'), describe a childhood or adolescent episode that produced the *aigis*. They may strike us as silly; yet they are revealing. Athena in playing war with another girl accidentally killed her friend at the moment when Zeus, a concerned parent, interposed the *aigis*; the playmate's name was Pallas, and in her memory Athena made a little wooden image called 'Palladium', and invested it with the *aigis* 'by which she had been scared'.²⁹ Or Athena was sexually molested by her father, called Pallas in this story, and she killed him and flayed him, and now wears his hide as the *aigis*.³⁰

There is a larger class of stories in which Athena acquires the *aigis* as she plunges into battle against an adversary variously named, a giant or a monster or an invulnerable warrior: Pallas, Aegis, also Aster, Asterus, even Gorgon.³¹ She kills him (or her, Gorgon) and flays the hide to make the *aigis*, then wears it in further fighting. Such stories go back to Euripides and Epicharmus and to the *Meropis* as a local epic of Cos. The *Meropis* indeed suggests that the pattern is much older, as old as a story that Homer knows, of Heracles blown by storm to Cos (*Il.* 14.250-256). For it is in aid of Heracles that Athena fights a Coan champion, and we shall see below that the details are true to ancient ritual.

The various stories, early and late, show that the ritual was performed at many places over long ages.

The goat sacrifice

In saying, as they mostly do, that someone's hide is flayed, the stories reassure us that the *aigis* is indeed what the word seems to mean, a 'goatskin'. In real life a goatskin will derive from a goat sacrifice. In the stories it is not a literal goat, but a person, a giant, a monster,

²⁹ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.144-145; cf. Simon. *FGrH* 8 F 1, a similar story about one Iodama. We come back to both of them below.

³⁰ Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.59; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.28.2; Ampelius 9.10; Arn. *Adv. nat.* 4.14; Firm. Mat. *Err. prof. rel.* 16.2; Tzetz. *Lycoph. Alex.* 355.

³¹ Pallas, a giant: Epicharm. (note 28 above); Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.37. Aegis, a fiery monster: Dionysius Scytobrachion *FGrH* 32 F 8 (at Diod. Sic. 3.70.3-5). Asterus, an invulnerable warrior of Cos: Anon. *Meropis* P. Colon. 5604 = H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 1983), 903 A. Aster, a giant of ?Attica: Arist. [*Peplus*] fr. 637 Rose³. Gorgon, here counted among the giants, and equated with the *aigis*: Eur. *Ion* 987-997.

whose hide is so used; that is how stories go. There is one exception. In the *Theogony* ascribed to Musaeus (DK 2 B 8), the *aigis* is a hide flayed from a literal goat, the one that suckled Zeus in a cave on Crete, which he re-employed as *aigis* in the Titanomachy. It is also said that this goat had a horrifying appearance, so that the old gods insisted on confining it in the cave; more particularly, “it had a Gorgon’s face in the middle of its back”. The story pays tribute to the conventional *aigis* of art and literature; it gives no sign of wanting to account for any ritual (Athena does not come into it). And so we see that the conventional *aigis* of art and literature is consistent with a goatskin.

We are looking for a notable goat sacrifice. Goats are never sacrificed to Athena, says the learned Varro (*Rust.* 1.2.19-20), because she resents the damage they do to olive trees.³² Even so, he says next, a goat was brought up to Athens’ Acropolis once a year for a ‘necessary sacrifice’. It must be a sacrifice to Zeus, the other deity of the Acropolis. Zeus as well as Athena is constantly associated with the *aigis*.

For the rest, we happen to be told of a goat sacrifice to Zeus that was downright miraculous: the animal made a show of devoting itself as a willing victim.³³ Either it walked a very long way without any constraint, or it stepped forward from the herd to the place of sacrifice. This was in the cult of Zeus ἄσκραϊος at Halicarnassus, or more exactly at rural Pedasa nearby. Zeus is here the weather god, since his attributes are oak trees and ravens.

Just offshore is the island of Cos, with its story of Heracles’ adventure; Cos and Halicarnassus share a common heritage as original members of the Dorian *hexapolis* (Hdt. 1.144.3). Behind the story we can discern the ritual of Zeus the weather god. First the story.³⁴ As Heracles returns from Troy, his ship is driven to the island by an autumn storm, and a fierce battle follows against the natives, and Her-

³² Dionysus, by contrast, is happy to see them sacrificed as punishment for nibbling vines. In enunciating the less familiar rule about Athena, Varro’s source clearly had his eye on Athens, and cannot be trusted further. Goats are included in the animal remains from the Stymphalus sanctuary conjectured to be Athena’s: H. Williams and G. Schaus, this volume, p. 89 f.

³³ Apollonius, *Mir.* 13; Arist. [*Mir. Ausc.*] 137; Plut. *Anim. an corp. affect.* 4, 501 E-502 A; Cook, *Zeus*, 2.872, figs. 807-811 (coins of Halicarnassus).

³⁴ *Il.* 14.250-256; [Hes.] fr. 43a, lines 61-64; Anon. *Meropis* (note 31 above); ?Pherec. *FGrH* 8 F 78; Pind. fr. 33a; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.137-138; Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 58, 304 C-E.

acles and his men are almost defeated – until Athena intervenes. In the recently discovered *Meropis*, Athena creates the *aigis* by killing and flaying the invulnerable warrior Asterus. She makes use of the hide entire, “with the very hands and feet”; it is like an animal hide with front and hind legs.³⁵ Other details may also pertain to the treatment of a hide after sacrifice: it first ‘dried’, and then Athena ‘poured’ something on it, as if to make it supple.³⁶ Now if the story is an *aition*, the setting is crucial. Plutarch reveals that Heracles’ land-fall and the ensuing fight were situated at two places in the centre of the island, Cape Lacetor and the rural deme Antimacheia.³⁷

Like rural Pedasa, Antimacheia had an old cult of Zeus the weather god. As *hyetios* ‘rainy’ he was honoured not only by the local people but by a league, *koinon*, of others throughout the island who joined in the procession to his open-air altar. A decree of the *koinon* records their efforts, in the middle Hellenistic period, to keep up the worship each year (*SIG*³ 1107). Athena is not heard of, but the story we have just seen, of Heracles and his men battling the natives, seems to evoke the ceremonial combat round the Palladium. In any case, that old and famous story goes with an old and famous cult.

³⁵ Line 24: αὐταῖς σὺν χ[εῖρεςσι καὶ] εὐρήεσσι πεδίλοις. Apollodorus *Περὶ Θεῶν*, who quotes the *Meropis* in P. Colon. 5604, paraphrases “with both the feet and the hands”, even though *πέδιλα* is properly ‘footwear’, not ‘feet’. Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *Suppl. Hell.* (*ad loc.*) dispute the meaning, and H. Lloyd-Jones, “Anonymi *Meropis*”, *Atti del xvii Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* vol. 1 (Naples: Centro internazionale per lo studio dei papiri ercolanesi, 1984), 148 = *Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 28, even suggests χ[ειρίσι] instead of χ[εῖρεςσι]; he thinks of ‘armguards and footguards’ as useful pieces of armour, and of the footguards as notably ‘wide’ ones, εὐρήεσσι. Yet such realism, and such precise language, are quite unlike our poet; nor would Apollodorus have misunderstood χειρίσι too. It has also been maintained that Athena’s flaying of this invulnerable warrior is only a duplication of Heracles’ treatment of the Nemean lion, as recounted in some earlier epic: A. Henrichs, “Zur *Meropis*: Herakles’ Löwenfell und Athenas zweite Haut”, *ZPE* 27 (1977), 69-75; Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *Suppl. Hell.*, p. 407; Lloyd-Jones, “Anonymi *Meropis*” (1984) 1.149 = (1990) 28-29. The Heracles epic is thought to be a source as well for Callim. frs. 677, 597 = *SH* 268 B-C (*Aetia* 3, *Victoria Berenices*) and for ‘Theoc.’ *Id.* 25.229-231, 235-239, 271-279, both speaking of the lion. But why not suppose that Callimachus, like Apollodorus, (they were perhaps equally learned) lighted on the *Meropis* and adapted the *aigis* to the lionskin? This is a more economical hypothesis.

³⁶ Lines 20-21: [αἶψα δ’ ἔ]πειτα ἀνάνθη. τοῦ μὲν [.....] κατέχευε φέρουσα. Homeric parallels cited by editors suggest that what Athena ‘brought and poured’ was either ambrosia or nectar; yet they do not indicate what the purpose was.

³⁷ Plutarch’s version (note 34 above) is late and artificial, enlarging on other Coan customs and intermixing motifs from other Heracles stories. W.R. Halliday, *The Greek*

Weather magic and fertility charm

Whereas Athena wears the *aigis*, Zeus shakes it. It must be that the sacrificial goatskin was so used before it was placed on the Palladium. Shaking the *aigis*, as was said, can be recognized as a form of weather magic, an imitation and a cause of strong wind. In Homer and even more in later epic poetry, both Zeus and Athena shake the *aigis* to raise storms, such as the one that scattered the Greek fleet on its return from Troy.³⁸ When Salmoneus the wicked king mocked or emulated Zeus the weather god, he seems to have brandished the *aigis* along with other instruments of weather magic.³⁹

We have a scrap of direct evidence for a related use of the *aigis*. A certain Athenian custom gave rise to the proverb αἰγὶς περὶ πόλιν ‘*aigis* round the town’.

The priestess at Athens, carrying the holy *aigis*, goes a-begging, starting from the Acropolis. <She comes> to the shrines and to the newly married women. This is a ritual of the ancients. The proverb is applied to persons going round helter-skelter.⁴⁰

A priestess who starts from the Acropolis will be Athena’s, and the *aigis* which she carries will come from the goat sacrifice recorded by Varro. Though it is not said that she shook it, she somehow typifies ‘persons going round helter-skelter’ (τῶν ἀνέδην περιούτων). Her mission did involve some frantic activity; probably she did shake the *aigis*. What shrines she visited does not appear: shrines that have to

Questions of Plutarch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), 212-219, provides a full analysis. The starting point, however, is the agreed location of the old story at Cape Laccator and the deme Antimacheia, on which see S.M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1978), 60. Halliday 213 misconceives the location of both.

³⁸ Zeus: Hom. *Il.* 17.593-595; Verg. *Aen.* 8.352-354; Sil. *Pun.* 12.719-721, also 12.334-336. Athena: Sen. *Ag.* 528-531. At Quint. Smyrn. 14.452-458, Athena wears the *aigis* while raising the great storm; it is a pardonable error.

³⁹ *LLMC* 7 (1994), 654-655 s.v. Salmoneus 6, pl. 498 (E. Simon), a red-figure krater, 470-460 BC, shows Salmoneus in full cry, and strangely wearing a greave on his extended left arm, and another on his right shin. The vase probably illustrates Sophocles’ satyr play *Salmoneus*, and the greave on his arm is a ludicrous rendering of the *aigis*: C. Robert, *Apophoreton der 47. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner überreicht von der Graeca Halensis* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1903), 105-106.

⁴⁰ Zonar., *Suda* s.v. αἰγὶς περὶ πόλιν. For textual details and a fuller interpretation, see N. Robertson, “Greek ritual begging in aid of women’s fertility and childbirth”, *TAPA* 113 (1983), 162-164. Fertility is enhanced by anticipatory donations (*do ut des*).

do with the weather, or with women? In any case, it is obvious and agreed that for newly married women the *aigis* is a fertility charm. This follows from its primary use in weather magic, to bring down fertilizing rain on fields and pastures.

Here then is a scrap of direct evidence. Now it is striking how a certain story says that the *aigis* was thrust at a girl. As Athena's playmate Pallas was about to strike, "Zeus held out the *aigis*, and she was startled and looked up" – so Athena struck first, and killed her without meaning to (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.144-145). Another war-game with another playmate named Iodama also ended fatally (Simon. *FGrH* 8 F 1), and though the detail does not survive, she too must have had a fright from the *aigis*. For in yet another story, Iodama is a priestess of Athena who is turned to stone by a sudden apparition of the goddess, wearing a chiton with the Gorgon's head (Paus. 9.34.2). Admittedly, it is a chiton rather than an *aigis*, and it is the Gorgon's head and the form of death it so notoriously causes. Yet both stories, in Simonides and in Pausanias, refer to Athena's cult at Coroneia; they are both imaginative renderings of the same ritual action.⁴¹ The chilling spectacle was surely the *aigis* (Pausanias, while remarking so many cults and statues of Athena, never mentions the *aigis* as such). In promoting fertility, it spells the end for a maiden.

Athens, where the custom is directly reported, also has its story. It was here, in a temple on the Acropolis, that Poseidon lay with Medusa, right before Athena's eyes (Ov. *Met.* 4.798-801).⁴² She held up the *aigis* to shut out the sight. It is true that the story casts Athena as a mortified maiden, not as any sponsor of conjugal fertility. Yet

⁴¹ In Simonides, Iodama's father is Itonus, eponym of the cult of Itonian Athena. Though the eponym might go with Itonian cults elsewhere (cf. notes 55-56 below), he is prominent at Coroneia as son of Amphictyon, representing the federal worship: so Paus. 9.34.1, just before his own story of Iodama. This story is sometimes taken as *aition* of a stone statue: A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia*, vol. 1. *BICS* Suppl. 38.1 (London: University of London Institute of Classical Studies, 1981), 120 note 1 ("an archaic kore"); P.M.C. Forbes Irving, *Metamorphosis in Greek Myths* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 291 ("a cult statue"). But the petrification, as often, need only signify death, and Pausanias' story can then be aligned with Simonides'. Pausanias records a commemorative rite. "And on this account a woman, placing fire every day on the altar of the Itonian" (Ἰτωνίας Schubart: Ἰοδάμας mss.), "says three times in the Boeotian dialect that Iodama lives and asks for fire" (αἰτεῖν πῦρ mss: αἰθεῖν Emperius). Is it to demonstrate the responsibility of a newly married woman?

⁴² Ovid says only that it happened in a temple, unlocated. But the story requires a setting in which Athena and Poseidon are conspicuously found together, scil. Athens' Acropolis.

stories of the gods have a way of insisting on a given action while disregarding intention. Athena's gesture, if not her attitude, is like the priestess's when she visits newly married women.

The Palladium too, as invested with the *aigis*, keeps this connection with fertility. The original Palladium, a gift of either Zeus or Athena, was dowry for Chryse, daughter of Pallas, when she wed Dardanus, son of Zeus.⁴³ A great flood ensued, and Dardanus emigrated from Arcadia and eventually came to Troy with the Palladium. In this story its power is twofold, as fertility charm and as weather magic. Herodotus, we recall, associates both the Palladium and Athena's festival with the Libyan women in whom he is so very interested. In Libya, the ceremonial combat reveals who among the maidens is a false one. We now see why his thoughts ran on in this direction; *aigis* and Palladium have much to do with nubile women.

The *aigis* then, after being produced by a goat sacrifice, is used in different ways. It is shaken as weather magic, and carried about and perhaps shaken as a fertility charm. Later, it is placed on the Palladium, and two teams stage a ceremonial combat. Finally, the Palladium with the *aigis* is carried in procession to the strategic point where it will guard the city. These successive uses have inspired the picture of Zeus and Athena in epic poetry.

The absence of the Palladium

Before the new *aigis* is available, the Palladium is without one. There is a period – in the autumn, as we shall see – when the Palladium is inactive. During this period it has been divested of an old *aigis*, and removed from its shrine at the city gate to that temporary lodging at Phalerum where we find it in the festival of the two processions. In the first procession it is carried from one place to another at Phalerum, and in the second it is taken back to the city. Between them, it witnesses the ceremonial combat. If the combat is the *anthippasia*, the combat site is the Hippodrome. The temporary lodging was very likely Phalerum's sanctuary of Athena Sciras. The *genos* of Salaminians who have charge of this sanctuary are shown by their

⁴³ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.68.2-69 = Arctinus, *Iliupersis* F 1 Bernabé/fr. dub. Davies, Satyrus *FGrH* 20 F 1, Domitius Callistratus *FGrH* 433 F 10; also Steph. Byz. s.v. Δάρδαρος = Mnaseas *FGrH* 3.154, fr. 28.

calendar of sacrifice to be busy, both at the sanctuary and at the Hippodrome, on two occasions in the autumn about two months apart, which will be the interval when the Palladium was away (*LSS* 19, lines 90-92, 93: more of this below). The Palladium without the *aigis* is perhaps evoked in the curious tale that Theseus, on returning from Crete, fashioned a little statue of Athena for this sanctuary.⁴⁴ He returned as the autumn interval begins.⁴⁵

While the statue was away in Phalerum, the Palladium shrine at the city gate – which for the rest of the year was a place of refuge for suppliants – seemed vulnerable. This time of danger is reflected in a legend of the shrine, as depicted on the temple frieze.⁴⁶ It is the legend of Pelasgians assaulting Athenian girls as they fetch water at Enneacrunus. When Herodotus tells the story (6.137.3-4), he does not mention that the victims, like Cassandra, sought refuge at the Palladium.

Yet the Palladium shrine is implicit in the sequel, the Athenian version of why and how these Pelasgians were expelled from Attica. Whereas Hecataeus had said that this was done ‘unjustly’ (*Hdt.* 6.137.1-2 = *FGrH* 1 F 127), the Athenians maintained the opposite: it was done ‘justly’, as punishment meted out to the Pelasgians for ‘plotting’, ἐπιβουλεύοντας, an attack on the city. It is the judicial sentence of exile, which the court at the Palladium imposed for several crimes, ‘plotting’, (ἐπι)βούλευσις, among them (*Arist. [Ath. Pol.]* 57.3, etc.). Athens’ counterblast to Hecataeus is in effect an *aition* of the court at the Palladium; this is why the Pelasgians are situated nearby, at the foot of Hymettus, beyond the Ilissus and Enneacrunus. The temple frieze manages to depict the Pelasgians and their sentence: bearded men standing or sitting with a disconsolate look in a rocky landscape, and beside them heavy travel bags resting on the ground.

The rape scenes elsewhere on the frieze are accordingly the other Pelasgian offence. Herodotus uses the strongest possible language:

⁴⁴ Phot., *Suda* s.v. Σκίρος; schol. Paus. 1.1.4; schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 926. The material for the statue is said to be σκίρα *vel sim.* ‘white earth’, as a bogus etymology of Athena Sciras. It is more significant that the statue is created at this moment, and is small enough to be carried (ἐβάστασεν, schol. Paus.).

⁴⁵ Theseus’ return is commemorated by the autumn festivals Oschophoria, Pyanopsia, and Theseia (*Plut. Thes.* 22-23, 36.4).

⁴⁶ The frieze is fully catalogued and illustrated by C.A. Picón, “The Ilissos temple reconsidered”, *AJA* 82 (1978), 49-73. Robertson, “Palladium shrines”, 395-398, cites other recent work.

“the Pelasgians assaulted [Athenian girls] with both outrage and insolence”. In the full story, the Pelasgians intruded on the Palladium shrine as a place of refuge. The frieze shows a girl kneeling at the Palladium base, desperately clutching it as a man lays hold of her (Fig. 4). Alas, the base is vacant; there is no sign of the statue. The relief was famous enough to be copied later. It may also have influenced a rendering of Ajax and Cassandra. When Cassandra clutches the Palladium base, the statue as a rule is prominent above it; but

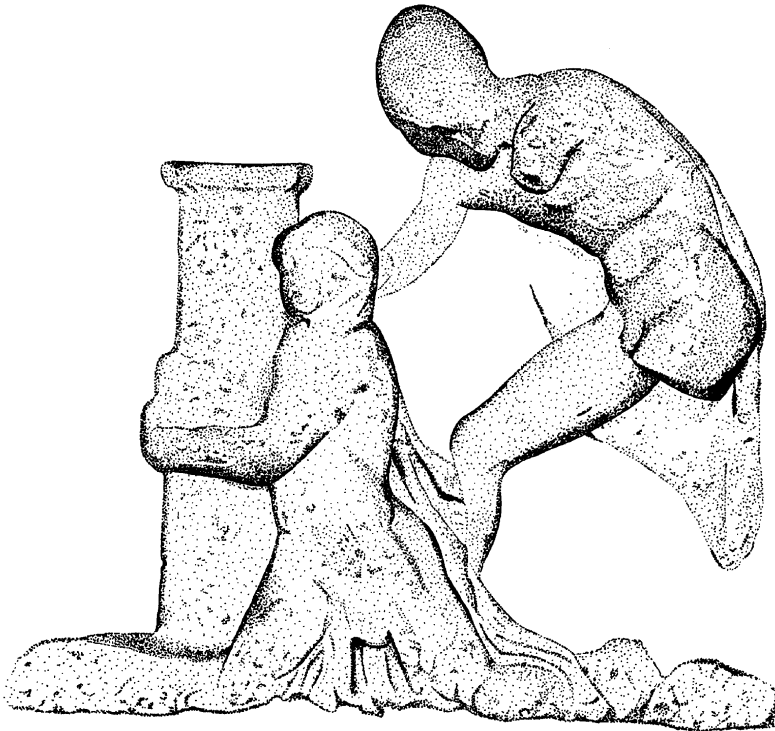


Fig. 4 Ilissus temple frieze, Slab E, figures 6-7. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 1093. Drawing by M. Wedde.

once, on an Etruscan mirror of the late fourth century, the base is vacant.⁴⁷

The interval when the statue was away is also indicated in a story about the famous Palladium of Argos. It was temporarily removed to an outlying point by a legendary priest (Callim. *Hymn* 5, 35-42, with schol.; Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 48, 302 C-D). This was during the Dorian invasion, and the return of the Palladium must have marked the Dorian victory.

The calendar dates

No date is handed down for the festival of the two processions, which marked the return of the Palladium from Phalerum to the city. But as already mentioned, the sacrificial calendar of the Salaminians records two occasions, and two only, when they offered sacrifice at their proprietary shrine of Athena Sciras in Phalerum: in the month Boedromion = September, and again in the month Maemacterion = November.⁴⁸ Surely the Palladium was brought here on the first occasion, and taken back to the city on the second.⁴⁹ The shrine at the city gate saw a burst of new activity just at this time, when the Palladium returned. The priest called Buzyges ploughed and sowed a token tract of land, cursing as he went, counteractive magic on behalf of the community.⁵⁰ A ploughman in hieratic dress typifies the month Maemacterion on the calendar frieze of

⁴⁷ *LMC* 1 (1981), 346 s.v. Aias II 81 (O. Touchefeu).

⁴⁸ The sacrifices of Boedromion are to three heroes, those of Maemacterion to Athena Sciras and yet another hero. It is however clear, chiefly on the evidence of Plut. *Thes.* 17.6-7, that the shrine of Athena Sciras is in view throughout. See W.S. Ferguson, "The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion", *Hesp.* 7 (1938), 24-28.

⁴⁹ In the time of Philochorus and supposedly long before (*FGrH* 328 F 64), the conveyance of the Palladium was arranged by seven *nomophylakes*. For a board of magistrates, a membership of seven is unexampled and unexplained. Perhaps it matches the ritual. The *genos* of Salaminians comprises ἐπτὰ φυλαί 'seven kindreds'. This constituency goes far back, being reflected in legend as the seven families who rendered the Cretan tribute of lads and maidens, the δῖς ἐπτά, and who also established commemorative rites (Plut. *Thes.* 23.5). See Robertson, *Festivals and Legends*, 124-125, and id., "Athens' festival of the new wine", *Harv. Stud.* 95 (1993), 237-238.

⁵⁰ Plut. *Conj. Praec.* 42, 144 A; Prov. Bodl. 250 = Append. Prov. 1.61; etc. For the date and location, see N. Robertson, "New light on Demeter's mysteries: the festival Proerosia", *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 37 (1996) [1998], 345, 361-363.

Ayios Eleftherios.⁵¹ We recall that the eponym Buzyges came with the Palladium from Troy to Athens, and that the *gennētai* went with the Palladium procession from Phalerum to the city. The Palladium in returning gives the signal for a ritual ploughing and sowing. It is the culmination of all the ordinary ploughing and sowing that has occupied the community during the previous months.

The *aition* of the court at the Palladium feigns that the Pelasgians assaulted Athenian girls while the statue was away. The other offence, of ‘plotting’ an attack – it is represented as even worse than the actual assault, oddly one may think, except as *aition* of the court – was presumably concurrent. If so, the *aition* went on to say that the court was instituted at this season. The notion is true to life. A homicide suit was investigated for a full three months before it was assigned to a court, such as the one at the Palladium, in the fourth month; the whole process was usually carried through by a given Basileus who took office at the beginning of the festival year, in Hecatombaeon = July.⁵² It follows that the fourth month of the year, Pyanopsion = October, always saw a surge of homicide suits in the courts. It was then that the court at the Palladium, like the others, either first opened or suddenly grew busy. The *aition* says that the court was instituted during the Palladium’s absence, which spanned the entire month of Pyanopsion.

Elsewhere too there is calendar evidence to the same effect. In Boeotia the warlike Athena is honoured on a federal scale at two neighbouring sites, the city site of Coroneia and the outlying site of

⁵¹ L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin: H. Keller, 1931), pl. 36, nos. 8-9; E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), pl. 3, fig. 2.

⁵² Antiph. 6 *Chor.* 42; cf. e.g. M. Gagarin *ad loc.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Whereas Antiphon asserts that the rule was absolute (for this strengthens his case), commentators mostly think that suits might be handed on at discretion from one Basileus to another. Even so, relatively few would come to court in the first three months of the year. Curiously, Antiphon is adduced by W. Burkert, “Buzyge und Palladion: Gewalt und Gericht im altgriechischen Ritual”, *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 22 (1970), 362, as showing that the court at the Palladium opened in the month Maemacterion = November (nothing is said of other courts). B. Nagy, “The procession to Phaleron”, *Historia* 40 (1991), 290-291, treats this as received opinion. To judge from Burkert 362 note 25, a confusion has occurred with the seasonal rhythm of mercantile suits, which were suspended during the sailing season: E.E. Cohen, *Ancient Athenian Maritime Courts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 42-59.

Alalcomenae just a few miles away.⁵³ The Boeotian calendar of months bears witness to celebrations at the two sites at the same interval, in September and in November.⁵⁴ The month Pamboeotius = September is named for the Pamboeotia of Coroneia. Alalcomenius = November is named for the *Alalcomenia of Alalcomenae. Now at Coroneia Athena has the epithet Ἰτωνία ‘processional’ (⟨ ἰτών ‘procession’ ⟨ ἰτάω ‘go always’, ‘proceed’).⁵⁵ The same epithet is sometimes used at Athens, both for the goddess and for a city gate beside an Ilissus bridge: it refers to our Palladium shrine.⁵⁶ The goddess of Coroneia is shown or described as a virtual Palladium, with helmet, shield, spear and especially the *aigis*.⁵⁷ A Boeotian vase depicts the main elements of the cult: a procession and a goat sacrifice, with four men securing the victim.⁵⁸ It was at Coroneia that Iodama, a legendary maiden, met her death by reason of either the *aigis* or the Gorgon’s head. A Palladium, then. The shrine at outlying Alal-

⁵³ See Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1, 111-114 (Athena at Alalcomenae), 117-127 (Athena Itonia at Coroneia). Schachter 113-114 rightly says that the propinquity of these two ancient cults calls for some explanation.

⁵⁴ For the Boeotian calendar, see C. Trümper, *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1997), 244-246.

⁵⁵ *LSJ Rev. Suppl.* (1996), s.v. ἰτάω, compares ἐπανιτάω, ἰτητέον, εἰσιτητήριον; add ἐξιτητήριον. The iterative sense makes it a suitable word for ritual, as in the last two terms, the ‘entry rite’ and ‘exit rite’ of an office-holder. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἰτών records the original pronunciation as ἰτών, which shows it to be the *nomen actionis* of ἰτάω, as e.g. (ἄ)κρεμών of κρεμάω, χλιδών of χλιδάω: an early type. Ancient theorists predictably said that Athena Itonia came from the place Iton, which they located in Thessaly, forcing-bed of folk migrations; modern theorists of the old school have happily adopted and extended this, so that it even takes in Athens. No refutation is needed.

⁵⁶ The Treasurers of the Other Gods cite Athena Ἰτωνία in *IG* 1³ 381, lines 151-152, an inventory of 429/8 BC, but Athena ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳι (Δεριονέοι) in two loans of 423/2 (note 20 above). The names seem interchangeable. In Pl. [Ax.] 364 D-365 A, the gate called Ἰτωνία is near ‘the Amazon stele’. It is the gate by which Pausanias entered Athens in coming up from Phalerum, i.e. in following our processional route; for near it was the tomb of the Amazon Antiope (1.2.1). According to Plutarch (*Thes.* 27.6), the same tomb was near the shrine of Olympian Earth, i.e. also near the Olympieum precinct we know; in this account, the Amazon occupant was Theseus’ own wife, killed beside him in the legendary battle. Now Theseus as a virtual Polemarch was commanding on the right wing, near the Palladium (Plut. *Thes.* 27.5 = Cleidemus *FGrH* 323 F 18). Note by the way that the restoration Ath]ena Ἰτ]ονείας in *IG* 1³ 1049, a boundary stone from the Agora, c. 475-450 BC, is quite reasonably doubted by D.M. Lewis; the spelling would be unparalleled.

⁵⁷ Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1, 119, gives full references.

⁵⁸ London, BM B80; *CVA Great Britain* 2, pl. 7.4a-b, 550 BC, Boeotian black-figure lekane, as interpreted by A.D. Ure. See Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 1, 122, and his cover design, which is the vase.

comenae will be its temporary lodging between the festivals of September and November.

Two other names for the November festival can be recognized: *Μαιμακτήρια* and **Διόσθνα*. The first is attested on Thasos at this season and produces the month-name *Maemacterion* = November at Athens.⁵⁹ So it is the name for the festival of the ephebic inscriptions, with the two processions and the ceremonial combat. The month-name, either *Maemacterion* or *Maemacter*, occurs at five other Ionian cities and two Aeolian, and will be November throughout, unless it is the month before or after (seasonal festivals sometimes vary to this extent). It is therefore one of the commoner month-names in autumn. Besides *Μαιμακτήρια* (ἱερά) the epithet *Μαιμακτής* is attested for Zeus, and *Μαιμακτήρ* as a divine name in its own right. For either the rites or the deity the sense is ‘raging’, from *μαιμάω*. *Διόσθνος* or *Διοσθύνων*, implying a festival **Διόσθνα*, is a month-name assignable to this season on Rhodes and, we may assume, elsewhere. The meaning is the same, ‘Zeus raging’, < *Διο(σ)*, *θύω*.

These are expressive names for a much desired weather change, to which we now turn.

The goat of autumn

November is the time for the most dramatic change of the year. The long-drawn labour of ploughing and sowing is at an end. Instead of calm clear skies, rain is needed all at once for the crop. Zeus controls the weather, and so does his daughter. When worn by Athena, the *aigis* is said to be more potent even than Zeus’ lightning (*Il.* 21.400-401). The epic imagery is drawn from ritual. To bring the winter rain, the Palladium is invested with a new source of power, the *aigis*, and is further invigorated by the ceremonial combat.

Beforehand, from September to November, clear weather is wanted for the ploughing and sowing; it is also the last period for going to sea. The Palladium without an *aigis* is accordingly removed from its proper place, the shrine at the city gate, and set apart. During these

⁵⁹ For the festival-name and related evidence, see F. Salviat, “Une nouvelle loi thasienne”, *BCH* 82 (1958), 195, 224-225. For the month-names and their distribution, see the indexes in Trümper, *Monatsnamen*.

autumn months it ceases to operate, and the ritual of November is, by contrast, all the more effective. At this moment, stories say, Athena is born from the head of Zeus and plunges into battle.

The distribution of the ritual shows that it is very old. So does the belief behind it. The goat species brings soaking rain, just as the dog species brings parching heat. Goat-star and Dog-star appear in the sky as the age-old signs that were first observed by a pastoral people. Αἶξ and Ἑριφοί (Capella and Haedi), the Goat and the two Kids which a goat typically bears, are notorious in Greek literature for the stormy weather that begins with their rising in middle and late September.⁶⁰ Κύων (Canis) the Dog is notorious for the heat that begins with his rising in July. Unlike the other animals in the sky (Bear, Horse, etc.), the Goat and the Dog are single bright stars, not constellations. These signs were not suggested then by any shapes of goat and dog. It is simply that goat and dog always meant autumn storms and summer heat respectively. When in summertime a pastoral people ranged widely with flocks and herds, their dogs were fiercely active everywhere in guarding and in rounding up; it was doubtless for this purpose that the dog was first domesticated. But when in autumn they came back from pasture to the encampment, the frisky goats were conspicuous.

Thus dogs and goats embody different kinds of weather. Such embodiments are useful in a religion that seeks to work on nature by analogy. We are told that dogs were sacrificed to allay the Dog-star heat; it is also the likely explanation of the festival day at Argos called Κυνοφόντις 'Dog-slaying'.⁶¹ Our goat sacrifice has a corresponding aim, to abate the autumn storms. At Phlius, a wine-pro-

⁶⁰ Aratus, *Phaen.* 157-159, 162-166, with the commentary of D. Kidd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 239-243; also F. Boll and W. Gundel, in Roscher, *Lex.* 6 (1924-27), 915-920 s.v. Sternbilder.

⁶¹ Dog victims and Dog-star: Ov. *Fast.* 4.939-942; Paulus s.v. *Catularia*, p. 39 Lindsay; Ateius Capito *apud* Festus s.v. *Rutilae canes*, p. 358 Lindsay; Serv. *G.* 4.424; Lydus, *Mens.*, p. 152 Wünsch. Festival at Argos: Hagias-Dercylus *FGrH* 305 F 8 bis; Callim. *Aet.* 1, frs. 26-31; Conon *FGrH* 26 F 1, ch. 19; Ov. *Ib.* 480; Paus. 1.43.7; Ath. 3.56, 99 E; Ael. *NA* 12.34; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1.586-590, 634-635. For a general discussion, see W. Gundel, in *RE* 3 A1 (1937) s.v. Sirius, 336-339; for the festival at Argos, also U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "Die griechische Heldensage II", *Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprache, Literatur und Kunst* 1925, 230-234 = *Kleine Schriften* vol. 5.2 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1929), 108-113. Arneius as the festival month is still not securely placed in the Argive calendar: Trümper, *Monatsnamen*, 143-147 (she puts it in spring, but only by conjecture, and without reference to the festival).

ducing area, Pausanias saw in the agora a goat-image of gilded bronze said to represent the Goat-star, and further said to be a mark of reverence, as if this would forestall the damage that the Goat-star causes to the vines (2.14.6). But like many other animal images in public places, the bronze goat more truly represents the sacrificial victim, and that in turn the Goat-star.

When stories say that Athena kills and flays someone to make the *aigis*, this is in effect the sacrificial victim, and the victim is equated with the Goat-star. The monstrous victim on Cos is named Asterus 'Star' (Anon. *Meropis* = *Suppl. Hell.* 903 A, line 2). A giant felled by Athena is likewise named Aster 'Star' (Arist. [*Peplus*] fr. 637 Rose³). Musaeus' *Theogony* was the most explicit: the goat from which Zeus obtained the *aigis* he afterwards reconstituted and set in the sky as the very Goat-star (DK 2 B 8).⁶² The sacrificial goat had a further use. The hide was preserved after sacrifice as the *aigis*. In November, when rain was truly wanted, it was brought out and shaken and placed on the Palladium.

These are primitive ways, but they were deeply ingrained among the Greeks. At Athens the November festival continued to the middle Hellenistic period at least. So did other old festivals. In religious observance Athens was perhaps a little more conservative than many cities, though otherwise more daring and original. Still, such observance was widespread. Even as the Greeks improved on all the arts of civilized society, they did not forget the basic needs and feelings that went much further back.⁶³

⁶² Cratinus, *Chirones* fr. 261 KA, the earliest mention of the Goat in the sky that we can be sure of, seems to say that she nourished some predatory rascals at Athens. I.e., the Goat was even then identified with the one that suckled Zeus, and so perhaps also with the *aigis*, as in Musaeus. Cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* vol. 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1931/32), 131.

⁶³ I thank Susan Deacy and Alexandra Villing for their kind invitation to the Athena conference of April 1998, and for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

CHAPTER THREE

ATHENA *SALPINX* AND THE ETHICS OF MUSIC

Anastasia Serghidou

One of the attributes of Athena is the *salpinx*, the trumpet. The association of the goddess with this instrument is not surprising, for in both iconographic and literary sources she is closely linked with the world of music. She is either an inventor of musical instruments or a performer herself, although mythic discourse presents her as being selective, often showing her to prefer certain instruments while neglecting others.¹ What I argue here is that Athena's musical favourites tend to be connected with a set of specifically musical ethics, which served the heroic and political ideals of Classical Greece. My investigation focuses primarily on the mythological evidence which alludes to Athena's neglect of the *aulos* and aims to elucidate the relation the goddess has with the apparently negative aspects of the *aulos* and the seemingly beneficent aspects of playing the trumpet. The latter corroborates the goddess's warlike image and fosters her political role within the context of the *polis*, a phenomenon for which one may plausibly argue on the grounds of archaeological evidence linking Athena with the trumpet.

With reference to Athena *Ergane*, Athena the worker,² Diodorus Siculus identifies the invention of the *aulos* as among the most important artistic creations of the goddess: "Athena", he says, "was

¹ On the myths related to Athena's rejection of the *aulos*, see J.G. Landels, *Music in Ancient Greece and Rome* (London: Routledge, 1998), 154-156.

² On Athena *Ergane* within the context of iconographical evidence, see P. Perdrizet, "De quelques monuments figurés du culte d'Athéna Érgané", in *Mélanges Perrot* (Paris: Thorin et Fils, 1903), 259-267; S. Stucchi, "Una recente terracotta siciliana di Atena Ergane ed una proposta intorno all'Atena detto di Endoios", *Rh. Mus.* 63 (1956), 122-128; H. von Heintze, "Athena Polias am Parthenon als Ergane, Hippias, Parthenos", *Gymnasium* 100 (1993), 385-418. On Athena *Ergane* in general, see L. Séchan and P. Lévêque, *Les grandes divinités de la Grèce* (Paris: de Boccard, 1966), 325-339; see also N. Loraux, *The Children of Athena: Athenian Ideas about Citizenship and the Division between the Sexes*, tr. C. Levine (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 126.

also the discoverer of the making of the *aulos* (εὐρεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν αὐλῶν κατασκευήν) and of the music which they produce and, in a word, of many works of cunning device, from which she derives her name, ‘worker’”.³

Hence, in connection with the ingenuity of Athena in various arts and techniques, the invention of the *aulos* is a constituent element of the goddess’s civilising attitudes, evidenced by the manufacture of garments (ἐσθήτος κατασκευή)⁴ and the ‘taming’ of olive trees (ἐλαῶν ἡμέρωσιν).⁵ ‘Taming’ in this case implies both the fertility of the soil and the very symbol of the city of Athens,⁶ whose inhabitants were the first to credit her with the epithet *Ergane*, supporting Pausanias’ statement that they were “far more devoted to religion than other men”.⁷

The relation she has to the *aulos* is well known. But it should be stressed that if, associated with her function as *Ergane*, Athena is supposed to be the ingenious inventor of the *aulos*, she is also the one who ascribes to it all its negative values. This effectively reminds us that in Greek culture the εὐρετής, the inventor, can easily be dissociated from the *tekhne* and from the *epistémê*.⁸ As Plato points out, referring to the relationship that exists between the inventor of the instrument and its player, the art of inventing an instrument is independent of the art of playing it.⁹

I do not intend to dwell in the present study on the art of playing musical instruments such as the *aulos*, which Athena effectively invents and then rejects, or the *salpinx*, the trumpet, which follows the

³ Diod. Sic. 5.73.8. The translators in this chapter are those of the Loeb Classical Library, slightly amended where necessary.

⁴ *Ibid.* 5.73.7.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ On the equivalence between the Acropolis of Athens and the *astê elaia*, the olive tree of the city, in this case the sacred olive tree of Athena, see also C. Lédur, “Réveries sur la vierge à l’olivier”, in *Mélanges P. Lévêque*, vol. 6, ed. M. Mactoux and E. Geny (Paris and Besançon: Annales Littéraires de l’Université de Besançon, 1992), 259-275. On Athenian symbolism and its connection with the olive tree, see M. Detienne, “L’olivier: un mythe politico-religieux”, in *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne*, ed. M.I. Finley (Paris, La Haye: Mouton & Co., 1973), 293-306.

⁷ Paus. 1.24.3. On the specific historico-political relations the Athenians bore to religion and, more specifically, to the goddess Athena, see R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), *passim* and especially 69-71, 83-84.

⁸ On the role of the inventor in Greek culture, see A. Kleingünther, ‘Πρῶτος εὐρετής’. *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer Fragestellung*, *Philologus Suppl.* 26.1 (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1933), 135ff.

⁹ Pl., *Euthydemus* 289 b.

goddess throughout Greek literature as an attribute befitting her nature. I subscribe, however, to the idea that the links the goddess has with these instruments are enforced and determined by specific musical ethics which make manifest the logic of rejecting one instrument in favour of another. It is thus possible to elucidate not the artistic but rather the ethico-political role played by the goddess in her position as a ‘musician’.

Athena’s role as a ‘musician’ is, for example, recorded by Diodorus¹⁰ and, probably, by an unfortunately fragmentary late Attic inscription, which records a dedication to ‘Athena Mousikê’.¹¹ Furthermore, as Pindar stresses, Athena is the genius of the *aulos* who tried to imitate by the *aulos*’ sound the noisy chorus made by Euryalus and Stheno when Perseus decapitated their sister Medusa. Thus the first sound of the flute relates to the sinister threnody of the Gorgons. However, rather than just being a noise, the sound is initially supposed to be a melody, a harmony, according to Pindar, of the *multicephalus nome* (κεφαλᾶν πολλὰν νόμον).¹² Within this range of evidence Athena not only invents the instrument, but also takes it upon herself to create a musical composition which suits its specific sound. The composition is therefore an imitation, a *mimesis*, in this case of a *goos*, a lamentation. After all, Pindar is clear about the mimetic aspect of the sound of the *aulos*:

But when she rescued her beloved hero from those toils, the maiden composed a melody with every sound for pipes, so that she might imitate (μιμήσαιτ’ ἐρικλάγταν γόον) with instruments the echoing wail that was forced from the gnashing jaws of Euryale.¹³

Pliny seems to take up Pindar’s idea of a threnody when he sees in a statue “sculptured by Demetrius” a “grumbling Athena” (Athena Myctica).¹⁴

...Demetrius (made) Lysimache who was a priestess of Athena for 64 years, and also the Athena called the Murmuring Athena (*Minervam Myctica appellatur*) – the dragons on her Gorgon’s head sound with a tinkling note when a harp is struck.

¹⁰ Cf. *supra*.

¹¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* 1 154 ΑΘΑΝΑΣΤ]ΗΣΜΟΥΣΙΚΗ[Σ.

¹² Pind. *Pyth.* 12.23. The tune was also attributed to Olympus (see [Ps-]Plut. [*De mus*] 5).

¹³ Pind. *Pyth.* 12.18–22.

¹⁴ Plin. 34.19.76–77.

The substitution of the *aulos* for the cithara that Pliny records is interesting in the present case because it indicates an evolution in the ethics of music,¹⁵ which no longer depends solely on the standards set by Greek culture. These norms had hitherto created a clear-cut dichotomy between the lyre and the *aulos*, and in no way did the Greeks confuse the values of one instrument with those of the other. Therefore Athena did not invent the cithara, but the *aulos*. Pindar is quite clear about this. But there is more to it than this, because, according to other legends, she is in fact the one who, after inventing the *aulos*, rejected it because, as Apollodorus informs us, it made her look ugly (ἄμορφον).¹⁶ It is worth noting, however, that Pausanias takes up the same legend of Athena's rejection of the *aulos* without explaining why she did so.¹⁷ Thus it is perhaps in the words of Aristotle that the origin of Apollodorus' narrative and a more delicate explanation of the *aulos*' rejection are to be found:

Now, it is not a bad point in the story that the goddess did this out of arrogance because of the ugly distortion of her features; but as a matter of fact it is more likely that it was because education in flute-playing has no effect on the intelligence, whereas we attribute science and art to Athena.¹⁸

To the latter's narration could, finally, be added Plutarch's account, according to which the Silenus Marsyas, on hearing her play the *aulos*, let her know that such a picture was unsuitable for her: "Get rid of the *aulos*, take up your weapons, and set your jawbones right", he sang.¹⁹ To turn to Athenaeus' account, he describes, in reference to Melanippides' Marsyas, how terrified Athena was by the misshapen appearance of her own body:

As to which I cannot believe in my heart that divine Athena, clever goddess, found that clever instrument in the mountain thickets, and

¹⁵ On musical ethos, see W.D. Anderson, *Ethos and Education in Greek Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966); C. Sachs, *The Rise of Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1943), 248-252. On *mimesis* and music, see F. Lasserre, "Mimesis et Musique", *Dioniso* 41 (1967), 245-263; P. Moraux, "La 'mimesis' dans les théories anciennes de la danse, de la musique, et de la poésie", *Études Classiques* 23 (1955), 3-13.

¹⁶ Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.4.1-2.

¹⁷ Paus. 1.24.1.

¹⁸ Arist. *Pol.* 8.6.

¹⁹ Plut. *Mor.* 456ff.

frightened at the ugliness which offends the eye (δυσόφθαλμον αἰσχος ἐκφοβηθεῖσαν...), cast it again from her hands, so that it became the glory of Marsyas, the hand-clapping creature whose dam was a nymph.²⁰

These texts correspond perfectly with Apollodorus' account in so far as the distortion of the face relates to the idea of *askhêmon* and *amorphon*,²¹ two terms that allude to the loss of harmony in the contours of face or body.²² Such a loss goes against the beauty and grace of any divine or human creature, which ought to stand in contrast to the subordinate status of a slave or the ugliness of a satyr.²³ For the latter, nothing could be more meaningful than Socrates' comparison with Marsyas,²⁴ who, according to Alcibiades, is the real inventor of the *aulos*.²⁵ Furthermore, it is Alcibiades himself who stresses the dangers of the *aulos*. As we shall see, these dangers seem to be related to an ethico-political framework that favoured the medium of *logos*,²⁶ rather than to a purely artistic context.

In view of its Asian origins,²⁷ the *aulos* often functions as a repres-

²⁰ Ath. 14.616-617.

²¹ On the aspects of the face's reflection in the mirror in relation to gender, see F. Frontisi-Ducroux and J.-P. Vernant, *Dans l'Oeil du Miroir* (Paris: O. Jacob, 1997). The authors underline the impossibility of the reflection of Athena's face in the mirror, an impossibility due to her virile nature (*ibid.* 71). On *amorphia*, the production of laughter, and the rejection of the *aulos* by Athena, see the discussion by S. Milanezi in the present volume, p. 318ff.

²² On the threatening bodily distortion of Athena and Athenian body politics, see the seminal analysis by P. Wilson, "The *aulos* in Athens", in *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*, ed. S. Goldhill and R. Osborne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 58-95, esp. 64-66.

²³ On the masks of slaves and their particular features during the Hellenistic epoch, see L.B. Bernabo-Bréa, *Menandro e il teatro greco nelle terracotte liparesi* (Geneva: Sagep, 1985), 198-207. Indeed, in the mask inventory presented by the author the figures of the usually bald slaves are credited with ridiculous aspects.

²⁴ On Marsyas and his relation with the *aulos*, see B. Leclercq-Neveu, "Marsyas, le martyr de l'*aulos*", *Métis* 4 (1989), 251-268. For visual evidence, see *LIMC* 2 (1984), 1014-1015, pl. 764 (P. Demargne); *ibid.*, 1011 s.v. Athena 585, pl. 761 (P. Demargne). For Athena rejecting the *aulos*, see *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* Berlin 3, pl. 147.1,3 (F 2418).

²⁵ Pl. *Symp.* 215b.

²⁶ On the ideological place of the *aulos* within the Athenian political context, see Wilson, "Aulos", 59-95.

²⁷ On the *aulos*, see K. Schlesinger, *The Greek Aulos* (London: Methuen, 1939); A.A. Howard, "The αὐλός or Tibia", *Harv. Stud.* 4 (1893), 1-60. On the Phrygian *aulos* in an archaeological context, see A. Bélis, "L'*aulos* phrygien", *RA* 1986, 21-40. On the importance of the foreign origins of the *aulos* in Greek visual evidence, see F. Frontisi, "Athéna et l'invention de la flûte", *Musica e Storia* 2 (1994), 242-243.

sive symbol of alterity or even of national threat.²⁸ From this, it became a symbol of fear of depersonification and loss of identity. This was expressed not only by the dread of one's face being altered, but also the fear of losing one's voice and reasoned speech. Thus a politician such as Alcibiades objected to playing the *aulos* and qualified it as unworthy of free men (...τὸ δ' αὐλεῖν ὡς ἄγεννές καὶ ἀνελεύθερον).²⁹ In this respect, the alteration and even the annihilation of speech are decisive factors which describe the alienating qualities of the *aulos* and become crucial during, for instance, the extreme moments of commensality and eloquence offered by *symposia* and, more specifically, by private banquets, which gave priority both to speech and to sensual exuberance. As a substitute for speech used occasionally as a threatening object in the hands of flute-players, the *aulos* offered, according to Socrates, "what is more agreeable to see and hear". Now, in the hands and in the mouth of flute-girls, the art of playing the *aulos* becomes a source of pleasure and thereupon of disorientating melodies, because it functions as a generator of 'softness',³⁰ which during *symposia* interrupts the reasoned speech and transforms virtuous citizens into frivolous human beings.³¹ This marks a disruption³² generally understood as a lapse from sobriety to the abandonment of *sôphrosynê*. Plato writes:

²⁸ As has been analyzed by different scholars, the *aulos* had often been used as an element of political propaganda. It has been associated, for example, with a national enemy like Persia (cf. W. Gauer, "Athena und Marsyas", in *Modus in Rebus. Gedenkschrift für Wolfgang Schindler*, ed. D. Rössler and V. Stürmer [Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1995], 50-54), or for the Athenians with an internal adversary. Thus its rejection often symbolizes the rejection of Thebes; cf. N. Demand, *Thebes in the Fifth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), 88-89; S. Deacy, "Athena in Boiotia: Local Tradition and Cultural Identity", in *Boeotia Antiqua V: Studies in Boiotian Topography. Cults and Terracottas*, ed. J. Fossey (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1995), 100-102. Wilson, "Aulos", 61. On the *aulos* and the political identity of Thebes, see I. Kasper-Butz, *Die Göttin Athena im klassischen Athen: Athena als Repräsentantin des demokratischen Staates* (Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1990), 184-185. For an overview of music and politics in antiquity, see A. Bélis, *Les Musiciens dans l'Antiquité* (Paris: Hachette, 1999), 207-241.

²⁹ Plut. *Alc.* 2.5.

³⁰ Xen. *Symp.* 2.1-2.

³¹ Pl. *Prt.* 347c.

³² On the distinctive characteristics of the *συμπόσιον* in relation to the *συσσίτιον* in Plato's work, see P. Schmitt Pantel, *La cité au banquet*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 157 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1992), 234-242. On the *symposion* as an environment in which philosophical speech was developed, see M. Tecusan, "Logos sympoticos: Patterns of the Irrational in Philosophical Drinking.

When we had at last pleasantly taken leave of all sobriety, (ἤδη δὲ ἡμῶν ἀπηλλοτριωμένον τοῦ σωφρονεῖν) there entered flute-girls and singers and some Rhodian sambuca-players.³³

Therefore, by having a voice which alienates and stands inferior to articulate speech, the flute-girl, although talented,³⁴ certainly becomes the bearer of a melodious expression, but also a vehicle for otherness (ἄλλοτρίαν φωνήν).³⁵ As a prototype of depravity and debauchery, she turns the intellectual dialogue towards the feast, and because she is connected with the voluptuous character of the *aulos*, she ignores, so Plato implies, the ethos of the *paideia*.³⁶ By being opposed to the moral moderation and to the virtues of the ideal citizen, in this instance the virtue of *kalos kagathos symposiastes*,³⁷ the flute-girl is indeed supposed to diffuse an empty speech, a sort of meaningless jabbering. Hence the presence of flute-girls during private banquets³⁸ fosters moments of alienation, inversion and disruption.³⁹ It follows that, according to the musical ethics which attributed to the *aulos* orgiastic elements, the *aulos*-player was often regarded as a disquieting, or even threatening, figure. Thus, as Hippocrates sets out, a certain Nicanor was so frightened by the *aulos*-

Plato Outside the *Symposium*", in *Sympotica: A Symposium on the "Symposium"*, ed. O. Murray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 238-260. On *symposia* and the abandoning of identity of the symposiasts, see F. Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet: Images of Wine and Ritual* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 12.

³³ Ath. 4.129a.

³⁴ On the musical education of women in ancient Greece, see S. Pomeroy, "Technikai kai Mousikai", in *American Journal of Ancient History* 2 (1977), 51-68. On the relation between music and writing, see J. McIntosh Snyder, *The Women and the Lyre* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1994).

³⁵ Cf. Pl. *Prt.* 347d-e.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.* 347d.

³⁸ It is during the fifth and fourth centuries that the presence of flute-girls during drinking parties becomes noteworthy. On the first appearance of the *auletrides* in vase representations, see T.B.L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (London: Methuen, 1972), 288. G. Starr, "An evening with the flute-girls", *PP* 178 (1978), 402ff., associates their imposing appearance with a social change which most likely affected women's life. The question is open to discussion. An answer could, however, be provided by the evolution in the education of music which becomes significant by the fourth century at any rate. On flute-girls and flute-playing during *symposia*, see also J. Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (London: Fontana Press, 1997), 81.

³⁹ On 'musical enchantment' as a disruptive moment at drinking parties and its relation with symbolic frontality on vase representations, see F. Frontisi-Ducroux, *Du masque au visage, aspects de l'identité ancienne* (Paris: Flammarion, 1995), 97.

players that when he heard the first sound of the *aulos* at a feast he was assailed by terrible visions.⁴⁰

A wonderful instrument, the *aulos* can transform the human voice into musical sounds. But it is also the musical instrument whose sonority is unfriendly to the spoken word, as opposed to the lyre which, apparently, makes melody resonant and is harmonized with the song and the spoken word, without deforming one's appearance.⁴¹ Thus it is perhaps in this context, which in any case was only elaborated in a latter epoch, that the meaning of Athena's rejection of the *aulos* is to be sought. The rejection of the *aulos* could thus plausibly be integrated into the evolution of the ethics of music which at first granted to *aulos*-playing a ritual role, but later on, in the fifth century, recognised in it a negative dimension of exuberance and frenetic pleasure typical of the Dionysiac world.⁴²

These elements were at odds with Athena's virginal and warrior virtues. Thus it can be suggested that the negative aspects of the flute, which are not prominent in Pindar's text but are obvious in Plato, are eloquently expressed in the legend of Athena. It follows naturally that the myth of the rejection seems to represent musical ethics through the figure of the goddess, who, remaining indifferent to the appeals of Aphrodite, refused artificial beauty and the attractions of pleasure typical of the auletrides' world. After all, the chaste and good-looking Athena is the one whose face is ever beautiful, as Callimachus asserts.⁴³ In addition, she is the one who blames Aphrodite for adorning her face with cosmetics like a courtesan, instead of showing her natural beauty.⁴⁴ What is more, she is the worker whose intelligence is superior to her technical ability – Aristotle is very clear on this point. If Athena rejects the *aulos*, he says, “it is very likely because the practice does not improve one's intelligence (ὅτι πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν οὐθέν ἐστιν ἡ παιδεία τῆς αὐλήσεως...)”.⁴⁵ As an inventor of the flute, Athena is presumably the one who, although the instrument's maker and a skilful musician who dedicated melodies to it, refuses to play the subordinate role of a flute-player, a refusal which seemingly confirms her status

⁴⁰ Hippoc. *Epid.* 8.86, 5.81.

⁴¹ Plut. *Alc.* 2.5.

⁴² Plut. *Mor.* 704-706.

⁴³ Callim. *Hymn* 5.15.

⁴⁴ Lucian *Dial. D.* 20.10.

⁴⁵ Arist. *Pol.* 8.6.8.

of inventor, εὑρετής, and preserves her from the subordinate role of user⁴⁶ – in this case the flute-player.

The goddess is, however, credited with a number of other musical skills and noteworthy virtues that do not deny her chastity or her belligerent and civic virtues of *Polias*. She assumes, for example, the belligerent virtues of hoplites and, in the guise of *Polias*, often becomes the indispensable safeguard of the city. These virtues are metaphorically emphasized by the sound of a warlike instrument, the *salpinx*.

As opposed to the *aulos*, the *salpinx* is the musical instrument that does not alter but manifestly preserves the warlike identity and protective character of Athena. This phenomenon is alluded to by Marsyas when he encourages Athena to throw away the unworthy *aulos* and to establish contact with what is precious to her: weapons.⁴⁷ Besides, the *salpinx* does not deprive the goddess of her authoritative voice, an element inextricably linked with her divine personality. Thus, the distortion, depersonalisation, and annihilation of speech generally caused by *aulos*-playing are irrelevant in the case of trumpet-playing.

Within the context of the trumpet's sound, the divine voice of Athena, which does not need to be enhanced by any special instrument, finds all its might mirrored in the trumpet's sound with its specific character of echo and signal. Certainly, the voice of the goddess poses questions that will not be investigated within the framework of the present study. However, it is important to point to its power and to the role it plays when it is connected with the alarming sound of the trumpet: the sound is first of all a war call and a 'cry'⁴⁸ which attests the presence of the goddess and, moreover, echoes her own voice. Let us recall, for example, the case of

⁴⁶ The art of playing the *aulos* which, according to Aristotle, is unworthy of free persons (οὐ τῶν ἐλευθέρων κρίνομεν εἶναι τὴν ἐργασίαν), is appropriate rather to the group of the *thétēs*, the wage-earning workers (ἀλλὰ θητικώτεραν) (*ibid.*). In this respect it is contemptible and unsuited to glorious Athena.

⁴⁷ *Supra*.

⁴⁸ On the association of cries and the transfiguration accomplished under the influence of music, see F. Dupont, "Hécube: l'aphasie, le cri, le chant dans *Les Troyennes* de Sénèque", *Les cahiers de la villa Gillet* 6 (1998), 30. On the battle cry and its ritual transposition in tragedy, see P.E. Easterling, "Tragedy and ritual", *Méris* 3 (1988), 87-109. On the battle cry in general, see L. Gernet, "You-you. En marge d'Hérodote", in *Les Grecs sans miracle*, ed. R. di Donato (Paris: La découverte-Maspero, 1983), 247-257.

Achilles in the *Iliad* when the hero, by uttering an alarming call, signifies the coming attack of the Achaeans.⁴⁹ The besieged city receives this threatening voice (ἄριζήλη φωνή) as the loud sound uttered by a trumpet (...ὅτε τ' ἴαχε σάλπιγξ).⁵⁰ The deafening voice of the hero that resounds as a trumpet's sound is effectively echoed by the distant voice of Athena:

So there he rose and loosed an enormous cry and off in the distance Pallas shrieked out too and drove unearthly panic through the Trojans.⁵¹

This example illustrates the power of Athena's voice. But, in addition to the issue of power, the phenomenon of echoing, seemingly closely related to the trumpet's sound, alludes to a transposition from the voice of the hero to the sound of the instrument. The transposition is presumably enforced by the voice of the divinity herself. This phenomenon is confirmed by the use of the verb ἴαχω, which is basically used to denote the human cry and not the noise of an object or the sound of an instrument.⁵² The trumpet that resounds as a cry is indeed a *hapax legomenon* in the *Iliad*. However, a meticulous examination of this passage evokes an interesting transposition, which displaces the voice of Athena to Achilles and from Achilles to the trumpet. This phenomenon which underlines the reverberating aspect of the goddess's voice seems to be enhanced by the trumpet's sound. As an additional example, the echoing crash provoked during the crucial moment of a divine quarrel in the *Iliad* could be mentioned. What is noteworthy is precisely the redoubling noise of the fight; a noise which is, once again, expressed by the sonoric metaphor of the echoing sound of the trumpet:

A mammoth clash – the wide earth roared and the arching vault of heaven echoed round with trumpets!⁵³

⁴⁹ On the crucial relation between Athena and Achilles in the Homeric epics, see J. Strauss Clay, *The Wrath of Athena* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 186-212.

⁵⁰ Hom. *Il.* 18.219-221.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1983), s.v. ἴαχω.

⁵³ Hom. *Il.* 21.385-389.

The same piercing divine voice, reflected in the trumpet's sound, recurs in the *Ajax* of Sophocles.⁵⁴ Physically absent, the goddess Athena remains invisible and distant (ἄποπτος ἦς), but becomes recognizable by a distinctive voice which recalls the trumpet's sound (...χαλκοστόμου κώδωνος ὡς τυρσηνικῆς).⁵⁵ Now the assimilation of the voice of the goddess to the shrill sound of the trumpet is directly connected with the idea of sharpness, which, in fact, recalls the original nature of her voice: the high-pitched sound of the instrument characterizes the goddess as an *oxyphonos*, who, according to Homer, uttered a shrill cry at her birth (σεῖσας' ὄξυν ἄκοντα).⁵⁶

In short, the reverberation of the trumpet is a kind of doublet of the goddess's piercing voice, that very voice which, in fact, confirmed her arrival in the world. Furthermore, through resembling the trumpet's sound, Athena's voice takes the breath away, makes the listener shiver, and wreaks havoc in the *cosmos*. It functions as a threatening element which disrupts the celestial landscape and the nourishing soil of the earth which, in turn, utters a battle cry. Thus it is described in the *Homeric Hymn to Athena*, where, once again, the verb ἰάχω is used, not, in this case, as reference to the trumpet, but as an allusion to the shrill cry of the goddess,⁵⁷ a cry which, according to Pindar, is reverberating and piercing, a clamour which penetrates the world with a stroke of a bronze-forged axe.⁵⁸

Therefore, the shrill cry of the goddess invokes the metaphor of the sound of the *salpinx* simply because the proclamatory tone of her voice may easily be assimilated to the trumpet's invocation of sonority.⁵⁹ As with the trumpet's sonority, the echoing and high-pitched voice of Athena constitutes a call and a signal. But to go further, within this invocatory context, the trumpet, unlike other musical instruments, is endowed with the specific skills of the herald. Contrary to the *aulos*, which is supposed to deprive human

⁵⁴ On the Tyrrhenian origins of the trumpet, see Aesch. *Eum.* 567, schol. *Il.* 18.219; Pollux 4.85. For the *salpinx* in Greek tragedy, see E. Moutsopoulos, "Euripide et la philosophie de la musique", *Revue des Études Grecques* 75 (1962), 439.

⁵⁵ Soph. *Aj.* 14-17.

⁵⁶ Cf. how in the *Homeric Hymn to Athena* there is a reference to the sharp voice of the goddess.

⁵⁷ *Homeric Hymn to Athena* 1.9-10: δεινὸν ὑπὸ βρίμης γλαυκώπιδος, ἰάμφι δὲ γαῖα σμερδαλέον ἰάχησεν...

⁵⁸ Pind. *Ol.* 7.65-70.

⁵⁹ M.L. West, *Ancient Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 119.

beings of their voice when they play it, the trumpet confers on the player the appropriate authority which, as in the case of the authoritative speech of the herald, allows him or her to enter and to be effective within political space.⁶⁰

The comparison between the trumpet's sound and the herald's voice is particularly plausible if we bear in mind a number of examples where the trumpet occurs as a substitute for the herald himself. For example, when Pollux refers to the introduction of trumpet-playing in the context of contests, he cites the adventure of the comic author Hermon who, not having been alerted by the herald's call, lost his turn and was subsequently fined. As a result of Hermon's misfortune, a decision was taken by the contest's organisers to replace the herald's call by the trumpet's signal.⁶¹ Furthermore, Hesychius seems to support this tale by a relevant gloss: "*salpinx*", he writes, "*anti tou kyrêx*".⁶²

In the *Republic*, Plato is outspoken about interference between reasoned speech, assumed by the eloquent orator, and the sound of the trumpet. What he sees in this phenomenon is most likely the negative aspect of imitation. An unqualified orator seems to be the one who

will think nothing unworthy of himself, so that he will attempt, seriously and in the presence of many, to imitate all things, including those we just now mentioned – claps of thunder, and the noise of wind and hail and axles and pulleys, and the notes of trumpets and flutes and pan-pipes, and the sounds of all instruments, and the cries of dogs, sheep, and birds...⁶³

A more direct link can be found in the *Greek Anthology* where a famous orator, Demosthenes, is qualified as *δημιγόρος σάλπιγξ*.⁶⁴ Finally, this interconnection between the *salpinx*, the authoritative speech of the herald, and the signalling and echoing voice of the divinity is found in the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus: "Herald", Athena says,

⁶⁰ On the political dimension of the herald as well as his relation to the city, see L.M. Wéry, "Le meurtre des hérauts de Darius en 491 et l'inviolabilité du héraut", *L'Antiquité Classique* 35 (1966), 468-486. On heralds and the assembly decrees, see A. Stéfanis, *Le messenger grec dans la tragédie Grecque* (Athens: Academy of Athens, 1997), 209 with note 4.

⁶¹ Pollux 4.89.

⁶² Hesychius s.v. *σάλπιγξ*, 6, 46. An equivalent meaning can be seen in a passage in the *Greek Anthology* (*Anth. Pal.* 6.46) concerning the herald Pherenicus.

⁶³ *Pl. Resp.* 397a-b.

⁶⁴ *Anth. Pal.* 2.22.

“call for order, marshal our good people. | Lift the Etruscan battle-trumpet, | strain it full pitch with human breath, | crash out a stabbing blast along the ranks”.⁶⁵

The sound of the trumpet which enhances the herald's presence thus also appears to underline the regulatory character of the goddess's utterance, which reinforces the layout of civic space by announcing the establishment of laws (μαθεῖν θεσμούς ἐμούς...). In this crucial phase in the institutional development of the city, the association of the trumpet with the political component of the assembly may ultimately explain the name given to the enigmatic sanctuary of Athena *Salpinx* located in the agora of Argos.⁶⁶ Taking into consideration the musical ethics examined earlier, one is inclined to discredit the lexicographers who saw in the use of the epithet *Salpinx* a simple reference to Athena's skills of invention, that is, her skills as Ergane. In the *Etymologicum Magnum*, for example, we learn that the goddess is so called because she was the first to invent the trumpet and founded the sanctuary at Argos (“Διὰ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὴν εὗρεῖν σάλπιγγα, καὶ ἰδρῦσασθαι σάλπιγγος Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐν Ἀργεῖ”) and Hesychius in his gloss on *Salpinx* also associates the name of *Salpinx* with the Argive sanctuary of Athena *Salpinx*: “Σάλπιγξ· ...ἐκδέχονται δὲ καὶ Σάλπιγγος Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν παρὰ Ἀργείοις.” In addition, Eustathius in his commentary informs us that the Argives honoured Athena *Salpinx* “because she was the first to have invented the trumpet”.⁶⁷ However, Pausanias is careful to indicate the ‘authentic’ inventor of the trumpet:

⁶⁵ Aesch. *Eum.* 571-575.

⁶⁶ P. Marchetti, “Recherches sur les mythes et la topographie d'Argos II. Présentation du site III. Le témenos de Zeus”, *BCH* 118 (1994), 131-160, esp. 139 note 75, insists on the fact that Pausanias gives no topographical information related to this sanctuary (21.2). He nevertheless suggests that a poros foundation could plausibly be identified as the sanctuary of Athena *Salpinx*. On the excavated remains and the foundation probably related to the sanctuary of Athena *Salpinx*, see M. Piérart and J.P. Thalmann, “Argos”, *BCH* 102 (1978), 789-790, note 3. On the problematic identity of this sanctuary, see H. Consolaki and T. Hackens, “Un atelier monétaire dans un temple Argien?”, in *Études Argiennes. BCH Suppl.* 6 (Athens: École Française, 1980), 279-294. It is in the same agora that a late statue was found. This fragmentary statue was identified as that of Athena holding an attribute, probably a *salpinx*; cf. J. Marcadé and E. Raftopoulou, “Sculptures Argiennes (II)”, *BCH* 87 (1963), 35-43. On Athena *Salpinx* in the context of Athena's worship in Argos, see most recently M.-F. Billot, “Sanctuaires et cultes d'Athéna à Argos”, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 22/23 (1997/98), 7-52, esp. 39ff.

⁶⁷ Eust. *Il.* 219.55.

A sanctuary of Athena Salpinx, they say, was founded by Hegeleos.⁶⁸ This Hegeleos, according to the story, was the son of Tyrsenus, and Tyrsenus was the son of Heracles and the Lydian woman; Tyrsenus invented the trumpet and Hegeleos, the son of Tyrsenus, taught the Dorians with Temenus how to play the instrument, and for this reason gave Athena the surname *Salpinx*.⁶⁹

The aetiological account of Pausanias is of particular interest because it plausibly credits the invention of the trumpet with a substantial political aspect inextricably linked with the founding heroes, namely the Heraclid Temenus.⁷⁰ The trumpet thus appears to be part of the elusive tradition of the Argive *paedeia*. In the same way, perhaps, the *aulos* was inextricably linked with Theban morals.⁷¹

More than a reference to the technical skills of Athena, the epithet *Salpinx* presumably evokes her protective virtues. And so we return to our point of departure. Whilst Diodorus Siculus emphasizes in Athena's role as the inventor of the *aulos* the special characteristics of *Ergane*, we can presume that Athena *Salpinx*, without being deprived of her musical abilities, more likely belongs in the realm of *Polias*. Certainly, an Athena *Polias* reigned over the Acropolis of Argos,⁷² and the most politically charged sanctuary of Argos should justifiably be considered that of Apollo Lykeios.⁷³ However, the only sanctuary of Athena, located in, or more precisely on the border of, the agora is the sanctuary of Athena *Salpinx*,⁷⁴ and it is within this

⁶⁸ Hegeleos is an eponymous hero of the Tyrrhenians. In certain cases he is considered to be the brother of Lydos, the eponymous hero of the Lydians, and the brother of Atys and Callithea. In other contexts he is considered to be the inventor of the trumpet. Tyrrhenos was supposed to have settled in central Italy and to have become the founding father of the Etruscans. On this aetiological myth, which exceptionally implicates the Dorians in the Argive tradition, see M. Piérart, "Pour une approche du panthéon argien par la mythologie: le bouclier d'Athéna", *Kernos* 9 (1996), 191-193.

⁶⁹ Paus. 2.21.3.

⁷⁰ M. Piérart, "Argos assoiffée' and 'Argos riche en cavales'", in *Polydipsion Argos. BCH Suppl.* 22 (Athens: École Française, 1992), 129.

⁷¹ Cf. Plut. *Pel.* 19.1.

⁷² See *SEG* 11, no. 314.4: ὁ[χον] ἀ[νέθεν] τῷ Ἀθαναίᾳ τῷ Πολυιάδῃ

⁷³ In this sanctuary, which was located in the agora, were deposited the decrees of the assembly in the same way that those of the Athenian assembly were deposited in the sanctuary of Athena. On this subject, see R.A. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), 20.

⁷⁴ In Argos the sanctuaries of Athena were generally located at a distance from the low city. The sanctuary of Athena *Oxyderkês* was, for example, probably situated on the slopes of the Aspis, the Bronze Age citadel. See Billot, "Sanctuaires", 28ff. Tom-

politically and religiously overloaded space of the Classical city⁷⁵ that Athena fulfils her specific role of *Polias*.

With these points in mind we may understand that the choice of such an epithet as *Salpinx*, within both the mythological and the literary context, had a predominantly political character, being influenced by the musical ethics of the fifth century which are inextricably linked with the political institutions of the *polis*. Contrary to what the *aulos* represents, the *salpinx* evokes the political aspect of the goddess. Overall, the choice of the trumpet belongs to the context of politics of sound, whose origins are to be sought in the evolutionary processes of authoritative speech: speech which in a different, although parallel, context is used by the herald when opening the assembly session, when he invites the citizens to apply *es meson* to their council – a sage council.⁷⁶

Thus, it seems probable that by attributing the *salpinx* to Athena the Greeks had somehow kept the goddess identical to herself. They created a coherent image which corresponded to her elevated nature as *Polias* and therefore as protectress of the city. Furthermore, they promulgated a certain image of the goddess which deprived her of any threatening acoustic elements such as those which, fostered by the Dionysiac influence of the *aulos*, may alter a decent woman and displace her into the exuberant world of the flute-girls,⁷⁷ the very world that Athena rejects by throwing away the instrument representing it, the *aulos*.

Ever faithful to her shrill cry of birth, Athena, through the realm of the trumpet, remains close to the effects of *phônê*, the articulate voice which functions in the words of Ps-Plutarch “as a vibration which affects the air (ἐκπεπληγμένον) and is sensitive to the ear”,⁷⁸ which differentiates it from the musical tune. By being attached to the *salpinx*, Athena keeps herself closer to the domain of invocation

linson, *Argos*, 206-208. On different figures of Argive Athena in relation to the literary evidence, see P. Sauzeau, *Les Partages d'Argos* (Lyon: Dissertation University of Lyon II, 1993), 370-382.

⁷⁵ Argos was very likely a double city, including the ancient Bronze Age settlement on the Aspis and the Classical city centred on the agora. For an overview of the recent excavations and an outline of the history of Argos preceding the coming of the Romans, see M. Piérart and G. Touchais, *Argos. Une ville Grecque de 6000 ans* (Paris: CNRS, 1996), 1-70.

⁷⁶ M. Detienne, *Les Maîtres de la vérité* (Paris: F. Maspero, 1981), 98.

⁷⁷ F. Frontisi Ducroux, *Du masque au visage* (Paris: Flammarion, 1995), 97.

⁷⁸ [Ps-]Plut. [*De mus*] 1.

than to that of musical sound, a proximity that validates her role as a consultant and protectress both of heroes and cities.

In short, it is in light of this connection that we should consider the anecdote related by Athenaeus concerning the siege of Argos by Demetrius. According to Athenaeus only a talented trumpeter such as Herodorus was able to motivate the soldiers to set up the necessary machinery for the liberation of the city.⁷⁹

How, indeed, one might ask, could a city with Athena *Salpinx* as its protectress be liberated, if not by the sound which merely echoes the goddess's own presence? As a matter of fact, Athenaeus' account is crucial to our understanding of the role which the *salpinx* played within the context of war and the politics of sound, since it helps us to provide an answer to the questions raised by a number of other accounts which confer – contrary to what the *salpinx* may bring about within the context of war – a negative image to the *aulos*.

In this respect, an unfortunate defeat such as that of the Cardians, merely marked by the destructive presence of the *aulos*' sound,⁸⁰ occurs as a symbol which, extending far beyond the local interest in the catastrophe, may generally involve martial incidents on a national scope. This symbolic role of the *aulos* recurs in the case of the Athenian defeat in the Peloponnesian war, carefully accounted by Xenophon:

The exiles returned. They razed the walls to the accompaniment of flute girls, with great enthusiasm, considering that day to be the beginning of freedom for Greece.⁸¹

Hence, by being associated with matters of military command and instances of national discord, the sound of the *aulos* tangibly mirrors within the context of a relevant *kataskafē* the ideological impact of the *aulos* and *aulos*-playing in the realm of the *polis*. This is evidenced by the importance that an extant epigram, mentioning the supremacy of the Thebans in the matter of the *aulos*-playing, took on after the destruction of their city.⁸²

⁷⁹ Ath. 10.415a-b.

⁸⁰ According to Athenaeus (12.520), Nabis set out to attack Cardia with the help of flute-girls.

⁸¹ Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.23.

⁸² Dio Chrys. 7.12.136.

Thus one can plausibly confirm the crucial ethico-political aspect of such an instrument and such a method of playing, which in the case of the *salpinx* became a parallel, though different, element of political and warlike aspiration. The issue that had been discussed and questioned within the mythological frame of the belligerent and civic aspect of the goddess Athena finally finds its figurative expression in an eloquent image plainly representing the goddess with both of her attributes in a sophisticated symbolic complex: an Athena holding a *salpinx* and a shield bearing an eminently political symbol, an olive branch (Fig. 1).⁸³ The *salpinx* here appears along with its warrior qualities as a constituent element of political expression. It is an artefact of civic experience which symbolizes the variegated aspects of an authoritative voice, usually announcing the misfortunes of war and the crucial opening moment of assemblies. This combination manifestly reflects the double role of Athena, whose political and warrior identity stands out against the probable alienating qualities of the *aulos*.⁸⁴

⁸³ *LIMC* 2 (1984), 1012 s.v. Athena 600, pl. 763 (P. Demargne).

⁸⁴ Many thanks to are due V. Karageorghis for having been the first to draw my attention to the specificities of the *salpinx*, and to all those who commented on the paper, at the Athena Conference or later. I am especially thankful to P. Wilson for the opportunity he gave me to read his paper on "The *Aulos* in Athens" a few months before its publication, to P. Vidal-Naquet and F. Lissarrague, who read the French version of this paper, to N. Strawczynski for preparing the drawing for fig. 1, and to S. Deacy and A. Villing for their bibliographical suggestions, their helpful criticisms, and patience; nevertheless any weakness and mistakes remain my own.

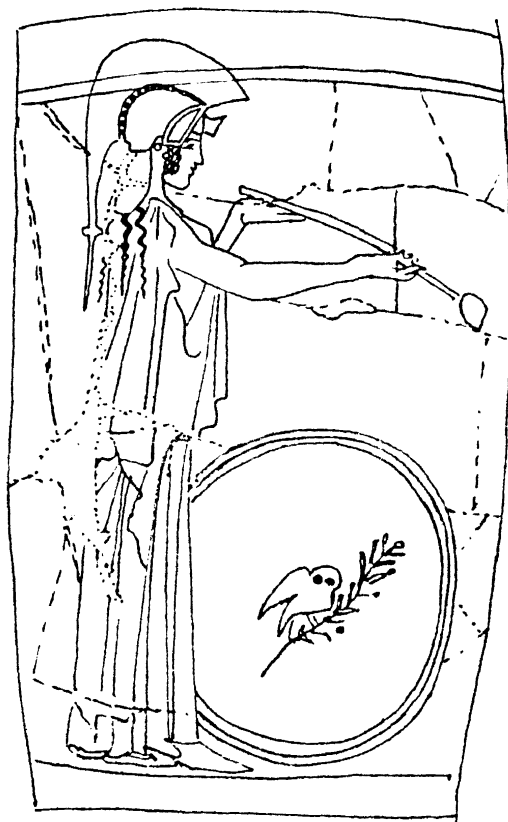


Fig. 1 Attic rf. lekythos, Athens, second quarter fifth century. Athens, Acropolis Museum 2568. Drawing by N. Strawczynski.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SANCTUARY OF ATHENA AT ANCIENT STYMPHALOS

Hector Williams and Gerald P. Schaus

A small sanctuary on the acropolis of Stymphalos has been excavated under the auspices of the Canadian Archaeological Institute in Athens since 1994.¹ Its identification as belonging to Athena Polias has rested since 1926 on a one-word inscription ΠΟΛΙΑΔΟΣ found near the building which Anastasios Orlandos called the ‘priests’ house’ (here Building A).² The aim of the present study is to describe the character of the sanctuary’s physical remains – most notably its votive offerings – and to discuss how these remains reflect on the presumed identity of the deity. Included in the discussion is a brief comparison of finds from other Athena sanctuaries, a look at the character of Athena Polias, especially in the local region, and an examination of the question of possible Athenian influence at Stymphalos. While conclusions are limited by the nature of the evidence, it will become apparent that the archaeological remains reinforce the inscriptional evidence and allow us a glimpse of the goddess’s worship in this somewhat remote area of southern Greece.

The site of ancient Stymphalos lies some 600 metres a.s.l. in the mountains of Arcadia (now in the nome of Corinthia) in the north-eastern Peloponnese on the north shore of Lake Stymphalos. Visited by many travellers in the nineteenth century and briefly explored by the German Archaeological Institute in 1910, the site received no formal investigation until limited areas were excavated

¹ The authors wish to express their gratitude to A. Villing and S. Deacy for all the work they invested in organizing the conference on Athena, and for their very helpful efforts in improving this paper. For preliminary reports on the Stymphalos sanctuary excavations, see H. Williams et al., “Excavations at Stymphalos”, *Classical Views* 14 (1995), 12-18; 15 (1996), 76-88; 16 (1997), 44-57; 17 (1998), 285-297. We also thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for funding the project and the Nafplion Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of the Archaeological Service of the Greek Ministry of Culture for its support.

² A. Orlandos, *Praktika* 1926, 134.

in a series of short seasons by Orlandos between 1924 and 1930 on behalf of the Archaeological Society of Athens.³ Although he concentrated on an area beside the lake on the south side of the city, Orlandos also surveyed part of the site that is the subject of this paper and published a plan of the small temple; he omitted the altar and the adjacent rectangular building (apart from its south-western corner) although he says that he excavated in it.⁴ Both altar and temple seem to have been visible since antiquity; the temple appears on an incomplete plan of the site published by Curtius in 1851.⁵

There is relatively little known about religious activity at Stymphalos. By the time of Pausanias' visit in the mid-second century after Christ the city seems to have been largely deserted.⁶ He mentions (Paus. 8.22.7) a famous temple of Artemis with plaster or wooden figures of the notorious birds as well as marble statues of girls with birds' feet set up behind this temple.⁷ Regarding Artemis, a remarkable and little noticed inscription found at Stymphalos just before the Second World War commemorates an act of generosity on the part of the Stymphalians towards the people of Elateia in

³For references by early travellers, see J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece IV* (London: Macmillan, 1898; reprinted New York: Biblio and Tannen, 1965), 270; for Orlandos' reports see *Praktika* 1922-1924, 117-123; *Praktika* 1925/6, 51-55; 131-139; *Praktika* 1927, 53-56; *Praktika* 1928, 120-123; *Praktika* 1929, 92; *Praktika* 1930, 88-91.

⁴*Praktika* 1924, 121 for photograph and plan; we have as yet found no traces of his trenches nor of the two temples that he mentions east of the sanctuary. This latter area is now covered with heavy maquis, however, and visibility is limited. For earlier photographs of the site of the sanctuary see H. Lattermann and F.H. von Gaertringen, "Stymphalos", *MDAI (A)* 40 (1915), 90, fig. 14 and pl. 14.3.

⁵E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos I* (Gotha: J. Perthes, 1851), 203-205, pl. 4.

⁶We have found evidence of first century AD resettlement in an area of houses immediately east of the end of the acropolis but it does not seem to go later; on the other hand from the sanctuary area we have a complete wheelmade Corinthian lamp (Broneer Type 16) and fragments of two Corinthian mouldmade lamps (ovuli and ray; vine and ray Type 27s) of the second century and a Corinthian imitation of a North African lamp of the later fifth-early sixth century. Orlandos mentions at least two houses that he dug of the Roman period but unfortunately provides no plan, illustration or even exact location. Pausanias mentions a Hadrianic aqueduct, and a Severan coin appeared in the nearby Cistercian abbey excavations: it seems likely that there was small scale continuity of habitation in parts of the site to late antiquity as we have pottery, lamps, and coins here and there through the fourth to sixth centuries.

⁷M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1985), 102, suggests that the birds may have been acroteria or antefixes.

the early second century BC.⁸ Driven from their city by the Romans or the Aetolians, the Elateans had found a home for several years at Stymphalos until the Roman consul Acilius allowed their return in 191 BC. The inscription directs that a memorial plaque be set up in the agora of Elateia and in the sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis at Stymphalos. At the earlier site of Stymphalos there were sanctuaries of Hera as virgin, wife and widow.⁹ The only other evidence for local cults comes from three different inscriptions: a fifth century BC spear butt in a private collection in Athens dedicated by the Stymphalians to Demeter; a metre-high narrow stele with the name EPMAΣ inscribed along it, presumably a boundary stone, found by our team in 1983; and the previously mentioned inscribed stone (reported to be 0.21 x 0.29 x 0.56 m) that Orlandos found in the acropolis sanctuary beside Building A and dated to the fourth century BC on the basis of letter style.¹⁰ This last inscription, like the EPMAΣ one, was presumably a boundary stone, and is so far still the only inscription to be found in the acropolis sanctuary. The epithet, Polias, as far as we know, belonged solely to the goddess Athena.¹¹ While Zeus is occasionally called Polieus, for example at Athens, Lindos and Kos, and as such is usually associated with Athena Polias, the inscription at Stymphalos, in the feminine form, cannot refer to him.

The sanctuary on the acropolis occupies a small open area that slopes north to south and west to east just below the highest point in the city (Pl. 1, Fig. 1). The buildings of the sanctuary would, however, have stood out viewed from both the lake and its southern side. The temple was built up against outcroppings of bedrock on the western side of the area. It is a small, simple structure, 11.6 m x 6 m, with a pronaos and cella; there are no indications of columns or

⁸ M. Mitsos "Inscription de Stymphalos", *Revue des Études Grecques* 59-60 (1946/47), 150-174; *SEG* 25 (1971), 445.

⁹ Paus. 8.22.2.

¹⁰ For Demeter see P. Amandry, "Collection Paul Canellopoulos (I)", *BCH* 95 (1971), 601-602; for Hermes see Williams, *Classical Views* 14 (1995), 13 note 11; a scholiast to Aristophanes' *Frogs* mentions a passage in Aeschylus which he takes to refer to Hermes at Stymphalos, Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 102-103 note 1, Aeschylus, *Psychagogoi* (fr. 273 Nauck²). Orlandos' date for the Poliados inscription can no longer be checked since we have not been able to locate the stone.

¹¹ See U. Brackertz, *Zum Problem der Schutzgottheiten griechischer Städte* (PhD Freie Universität Berlin, 1976), 191-203; Brackertz also points out that Athena Polias was usually worshipped on acropoleis, but this is not always the case in Arcadia (see below).

even antae although nineteenth century travellers suggested it was an in antis temple, presumably distyle. The building is approached by a small flight of stairs in the centre of the east facade; space exists for five steps up from the ground level.¹² It is built of the local limestone for its foundations and orthostate course and must have had mudbrick walls. The only traces of a wooden roof structure are iron nails found in and around the temple, and patterns of burning on the 'floor' of the temple suggesting burnt wooden beams; also, numerous fragments of large roof tiles appeared in the fill. The building preserved a few patches of fine white plaster painted dark red over the interior face of the orthostates.¹³ The temple does not seem to have had a proper floor. Indeed, outcroppings of bedrock, though roughly chiselled in places, seem to have appeared here and there while the cella was in use since votives and evidence of destruction are found down to sterile soil in areas between these outcroppings.

The interior has a square limestone base set into the bedrock floor at an oblique angle toward the rear of the cella and somewhat to the north of the axis of the building. If this were the cult statue base, its location is unusual. Even more remarkable, perhaps, was the discovery of a fine limestone 'tetragonos', broken and badly burnt, lying on its side close beside the base. This stone will be discussed again below.

Just to the north of the narrow set of stairs leading up to the temple door, and set flush with the lowest step, is a rectangular block having a circular cutting 2 cm deep, probably the setting for a terracotta perirrhanterion. Fragments of rim and base of at least one such holy water basin appeared here and there in the fill outside the temple.¹⁴ A remarkable inscription, dated *c.* AD 225, from the propylon of the Athena Lindia sanctuary at Lindos on Rhodes gives an idea of the kind of ritual pollutants that visitors to the temple

¹² A useful recent article on Doric temples in Arcadia points out the willingness of local architects to produce unorthodox forms like our stairs: F.A. Winter, "Early Doric Temples in Arcadia", *Classical Views* 10 (1991), 193-220.

¹³ It is likely that only the orthostates were covered with this fine red-painted plaster; there would have been much more preserved in the excavations if the mud brick walls had also received this painted plaster.

¹⁴ For a profile see Williams et al., *Classical Views* 16 (1997), 48, fig. 6. The diameter of a perirrhanterion base found in the 1999 season is approximately 8 cm smaller than the cutting in the stone base.

might have been concerned with. At Lindos more serious ones included loss of virginity, abortion, menstruation, contact with a corpse, and intercourse including a visit to a prostitute.¹⁵

Some five metres to the east of the temple are the substantial remains of its altar, a rectangular stone platform originally about 2.2 x 1.5 m, rising to a height of almost 1 metre. It consisted of one very large central block, now broken in three, with a large rectangular slab at either end, and possibly several smaller capping stones. These are given a roughly chiselled finish similar to the orthostates of the temple. Centuries of weathering have removed any trace of plaster which might have covered the altar originally. Around it here and there are preserved remnants of a roughly cobbled paving that marked the original ground level. A rough terrace wall running N-S about 5 metres to the east of the altar may have helped level the surface in front of the altar to some extent.

Just to the northeast of the temple are the remains of an auxiliary building ('Building A') (approx. 10.7 x 8.8 m) with annexes on its western (4.8 x 3.6 m) and northern (10.7 x 3.4 m) sides. In an early phase, it consisted of a vestibule divided into two parts by a small side room on the east where cooking seems to have taken place, and a wider room to the north but equal in length to the vestibule.¹⁶ At some unknown date, less well constructed rooms were added to the west and to the north. There is evidence for at least two building periods in the vestibule and main chamber with broken roof tiles and clay (decomposed mudbrick) used to raise the floor by 40-50 cm. The foundations of the original building were made of large limestone blocks with the same thickness as the orthostates as the temple. Large and small field stones were used for the foundations of the north and west annexes. Walls were of mudbrick with a tile roof.

The added room to the north of the main chamber must have had access from the outside, not from the building itself, since no

¹⁵ C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos II* (Berlin and Copenhagen: W. de Gruyter, 1941), cols. 871-878, no. 487; E. Dyggve, *Lindos III.1* (Berlin and Copenhagen: W. de Gruyter, 1960), 42, 172, 190 n. 120, fig. V.36.

¹⁶ At first we thought this structure might be a dining room like examples at Delphi and Aegina (see N. Bookidis, "The Priest's House in the Marmaria at Delphi", *BCH* 107 [1983], 149-155) but the discovery of the annex to the north changed our conception of the form of the building as did the absence of an interior dividing wall of the main chamber.

trace of a doorway was found into the main room; there are breaks in the wall on the north and east sides that suggest openings. In the middle of the floor, towards the east end of this room, a small pit had been dug, and in the charcoal-filled soil within the pit, the most concentrated deposit of Hellenistic moulded bowls from the entire sanctuary was found, as well as fragments from a number of lamps. A variety of decorative types appear among the bowl fragments, all of which can be compared with types from mid-second century BC Corinth. Based on this material a preliminary guess is that the room was used on at least one occasion for a nocturnal drinking party.

To the west of the vestibule and main chamber of Building A, a small room was constructed on a rough fieldstone foundation with a doorway on the south side. Lying on the dirt floor in several clusters were a total of 21 terracotta loomweights. All are conical in shape and with one exception are about the same size (*c.* 10.5 cm in height). We shall return to these later.

More striking than the architecture is the rich assortment of votives found in and around the buildings of the sanctuary: hundreds of miniature kotylai and other vessels, scores of pieces of gold, silver, bronze and iron jewellery, two small bronze figurines of hares^(?) and one of a cock, polychrome glass beads, a bronze phiale mesomphalos, scores of terracotta figurines, and fragments of three marble statues. There was of course as well a considerable quantity of fine, common, kitchen and coarse ware pottery.¹⁷ Of particular interest were numerous fragmentary Hellenistic moulded bowls, some of which (long petalled types) date to the mid-second century BC or later.¹⁸

The jewellery was found scattered across the site but with a par-

¹⁷ Preliminary study of the pottery seems to indicate that Corinthian fine wares form the vast majority of good quality pottery in the fourth century BC with increasing amounts of North Peloponnesian black gloss wares coming in during the third century.

¹⁸ For Corinthian parallels see G.R. Edwards, *Corinth VII.3. Corinthian Hellenistic Pottery* (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1975), 151-168; some of our bowls are certainly Corinthian but others have not yet been identified as to provenance. It would be most useful to be able to identify pottery from Sicyon but little has ever been published from that nearby site. It should be noted that such long petalled bowls continue into the first century BC and have been associated at Eretria and in the Athenian Agora with possible Sullan destruction levels: e.g. see *Archaeological Reports* 1998; we would like to thank Dr. Mark Lawall for telling us about the Agora examples.

ticularly strong concentration in the temple, especially its northwest quadrant, and in a refuse deposit between Building A and the temple. The most striking piece was a gold rosette torn from a wreath perhaps similar to the large one from the so-called Tomb of Philip at Vergina.¹⁹ Other similar rosettes are known from Thesalian jewellery of the fourth century BC.²⁰ Silver pieces include an engraved medallion with a seated female(?) figure holding a winged Nike in its hand and having a gold shield(?) below the seat, likely representing Athena, a gilded round fragment of foil decorated with a winged male holding the arm of a nude female, a rosette that joined a thick bronze ring and a small pendant in the form of a frontal woman's face with gilded locks. Unfortunately most pieces of value seem to have been looted leaving little idea of how many there were originally.²¹ What survives principally is bronze jewellery of different sorts, especially earrings, beads and bronze finger rings and at least fifteen iron finger rings.

The earrings number more than sixty; they come in a variety of shapes, most elaborate of which are the pyramidal. There is also a considerable number of lunate ones as well as simple loops or loops with spheres attached. Other items include finger rings (mostly plain but one with floral attachments and others engraved, with human figures or creatures like Pegasus on their bezels), bronze bracelets (mostly twists of wire but one in the form of a snake with gilded scales incised into its neck and upper area), and bronze beads, perhaps from necklaces.²² Conspicuous by their absence are cosmetic implements, an obvious woman's dedication.

Silver and bronze coins from the site now number nearly a hundred and although many have not yet been fully studied, the ma-

¹⁹ Conveniently illustrated in R. Ginouves et al., *Macedonia*, tr. D. Hardy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pl. 143.

²⁰ S. Miller, *Two Groups of Thessalian Gold* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pls. 3d, 4b, 5b.

²¹ One might suggest a small temple treasury for valuable dedications like the one suggested for the archaic temple of Poseidon at Isthmia: see I. Raubitschek, *Isthmia VII. The Metal Objects* (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1998), 62.

²² It is interesting that large numbers – c. 600 in all – of gold and bronze rings have been found at two sanctuaries of Hera: the Argive Heraion and the sanctuary at Perachora. C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum II* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co. / Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1905), 250-264 and H. Payne, *Perachora I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), 178-180.

jority are Late Classical/Hellenistic issues of the Peloponnese, especially of the nearest city, Sicyon. Two have been identified as local Stymphalian issues.²³ Of particular interest from the sanctuary are several coin-shaped iron disks; although no traces of letters survive, it is possible, if they are not nail heads, that they belong to a class of objects inscribed with an "A" that some scholars believe were Hellenistic issues of the Argive League.²⁴

Several metal finds may relate to actual cult activity: we found a bronze patera or phiale mesomphalos with a nail hole through it half way between lip and omphalos for attachment to a wall; embedded in the dirt inside it was a fine round bronze disk, perhaps a lid for a small container.²⁵ In the adjacent building's west annex was a 40 cm long iron spit, perhaps used for cooking sacrificial meat. It has a pyramidal handle end that tapers to a rectangular rod with a blunt end.²⁶ A second larger one was found in 1999 just east of the altar.

Another group of metal finds is equally remarkable: a number of lead sling bullets, bronze and iron arrowheads and well over a hundred iron projectile points from catapult missiles, one of the largest collections ever found in Greece, and possible evidence for a siege as the cause of the sanctuary's destruction in the mid second century BC.²⁷ The iron points come in two main forms: an elongated pyramid with tangs for insertion into a shaft, or with a hollow cone for fitting over the end of a shaft. It is most likely that they were fired into the area during a siege although it is possible that they were Stymphalian weapons stored for use at the nearby city wall and towers. It should be noted, however, that there is evidence from an artillery tower on the high point of the acropolis of another siege in the late fourth century BC.²⁸ It is unlikely, though not impossible,

²³ We thank Dr. Orestes Zervos of the American School's Corinth excavations for preliminary identifications of material before the 1997 season and Dr. Robert Weir for the Stymphalos issues.

²⁴ We wish to thank Professor Roger Knapp, University of California at Berkeley and numismatist at the Nemea excavations, for information about these pieces.

²⁵ Such phialai are extremely common in the archaic period at Perachora where over 200 were found; they have also been found at the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia going into the Early Classical period.

²⁶ For an illustration see Williams et al., *Classical Views* 16 (1997), 58, pl. 9.

²⁷ For parallels see D.M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus X. Metal and Minor Miscellaneous Finds* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1941), pl. 123-124. Chris Hagerman, University of Toronto, is preparing the publication of this material.

²⁸ Williams et al., *Classical Views* 17 (1998), 313.

that these projectiles of various kinds had been left as votives in the sanctuary. One clear example of a warlike dedication was discovered behind the temple. It was a crumpled fragment of a bronze shield ring decorated with a guilloche pattern, perhaps of the fourth century BC.²⁹ At Pergamon, the balustrades of the stoa around the Temple of Athena had various pieces of armour and weapons, including shields and catapults, carved in relief on them as surrogate trophies.³⁰ In Arcadia, miniature votive shields were found at Athena sanctuaries at Tegea and Aliphera, as well as at the Artemis sanctuary at Lousoi.³¹ At Tegea, Athena Alea was also offered two swords (one a miniature) as votives, as well as miniature arrow-heads,³² while at Lefkas a miniature helmet was inscribed with a dedication to Athena Polias.³³

Athena Polias as the main city-protecting deity is generally believed to have had a war-like character. Simon's study of votive offerings in Ionia discusses the dedication of weapons and armour to different deities throughout Greece.³⁴ He concludes by observing that while such war-like dedications are especially common in Athena sanctuaries, as well as those to Zeus and Apollo, they are also found in sanctuaries of other female deities, including Artemis and Hera. It is, however, also becoming clearer that Athena's worship varied from city to city, and region to region, in Greece, and she had other important aspects in her role as protectress of the life and institutions of the city (socialisation of young male and female citizens in Athens, patroness of female crafts, even protectress of

²⁹ Williams et al., *Classical Views* 15 (1996), 86, pl.7. For a mid-fourth century BC example from the House of the Bronzes at Olynthus, see Robinson, *Olynthus X*, 443-446 no. 2381 a and b, fig. 27, pls. 135-137; our fragment appeared in fill between the back wall of the temple and outcroppings of bedrock. It has a small nail hole in it, possibly for attachment to a wall although the size suggests more fastening to its original wooden shield frame. The guilloche pattern on it has many parallels in Greece and Italy on shield rims; some think them Corinthian.

³⁰ See, for example, *Altertümer von Pergamon II*, pl. 21.

³¹ M.E. Voyatzis, *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and Other Archaic Sanctuaries in Arcadia* (Göteborg: Paul Åström, 1990), 198-200.

³² *Ibid.*, 200-201.

³³ E. Preuner, "Inscripfen aus Leukas", *MDAI (A)* 27 (1902), 363-364, apparently Corinthian of the sixth century BC.

³⁴ C. Simon, *The Archaic Votive Offerings and Cults of Ionia* (PhD University of California, Berkeley: UMI, 1986), 253-262. Dedications of miniatures of armour/shields were common, Simon, 256-257. Note (p. 254) that temple regulations found in inscriptions (fourth century BC and later) show that some sanctuaries prohibited weapons, or indeed anything of iron in them.

young children). What is perhaps surprising at Stymphalos is that discounting the slim possibility that the projectiles were votives, there is so little of a military character, and much more of a feminine nature, among the offerings found in the sanctuary. One might, of course, try to take into account the possibility that a significant percentage of Stymphalos' men were away regularly as mercenaries, leaving this important cult more in the hands of the city's women.³⁵

The discovery of fragments of three statues in the fill covering the temple was perhaps the most unexpected find at the site; they include parts of a kore, a kouros, and a child or baby. The most complete preserves about one third of a half life-size late Archaic kore that had been smashed to pieces. It is odd that no marble chips appeared anywhere in the vicinity, as one might expect if the statues were broken up right here. Some of the broken pieces were thrown into the burning temple and show the effects of the intense heat; they appeared mostly at the western end of the cella. From the drapery and other details we believe that the kore dates to the end of the sixth century – start of the fifth century BC; the marble seems to be Parian and the style Attic.³⁶ The girl had her left arm extended outward with an animal in her hand; unfortunately the front part of its head is missing but it can most likely be identified as a hare (to judge from the powerful hind quarters). There are holes on the preserved breast and the battered head of the kore that may have secured metal attachments. It is difficult to judge the purpose and origin of the statue and why it was destroyed. It is at least a century and a quarter earlier than the temple itself, on present dating, and so might have belonged to an earlier phase of the sanctuary. An alternative explanation is that it was brought later from Athens, possibly even at a time when Brauronian Artemis was given a sanctuary at Stymphalos. Found with the marble fragments was an object shaped like an eye, cut from thin light green glass; it is tempting to connect it with the kore, since glass inset eyes are found in several late Archaic statues, but perhaps this is too hopeful. The face of our kore is completely gone.

There is little to be said about the kouros of which only the bat-

³⁵ Our thanks to Monika Marko, Univ. of Toronto, for this observation.

³⁶ E.g. cf. G.M.A. Richter, *Korai, Archaic Greek Maidens* (London: Phaidon, 1968), no. 26, figs. 587-590.

tered burned marble buttocks and start of groin survive; he too was about half life size. Of the young child we have a large part of the base and some pudgy hands, feet and one arm. A cheek/ear fragment may also belong with this figure. It seems fourth or third century BC in date and may be part of a temple child, a type especially associated with kourotrophic and kourizontes deities like Brauronian Artemis, Aphrodite, Athena Lindia, Apollo, Kephissos, Demeter and Eileithyia.³⁷ The Athena sanctuaries at Kamiros, Ialysos and Lindos on Rhodes all have figurines depicting women with children which suggests a kourotrophic concern of the goddess.³⁸ In the Peloponnese, the only kourotrophic reference to Athena is found in Pausanias (5.3) where she is referred to as 'Meter' in Elis. Otherwise, Artemis is kourotrophic in Messenia, Elis and Laconia; Demeter in Arcadia and Corinth; and Hera in the Argolid.³⁹ Several nymphs were also kourotrophic in southern Greece. Eileithyia was venerated in Tegea, Corinth and elsewhere. Demeter as kourotrophic at Corinth seems to be a secondary aspect of the deity, and the same may be true of Athena at Stymphalos. The epithet 'kourotrophos' is not attested for the Peloponnese, but 'korythalia' or 'tithene' had a similar meaning.⁴⁰ There is a little evidence at Tegea for Athena Alea as a protectress, including the domain of fertility.⁴¹ One epithet of Athena found only in Arcadia is 'Koria' which is thought to refer to a special interest in the lives of young girls (korai).⁴²

In the 2000 season, a terracotta figurine of a naked boy sitting in the typical 'temple boy' pose with one leg bent upward and the other bent but along the ground was discovered near the temple in

³⁷ For reference to over twenty unpublished "temple children" at the Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron see R.A. Stucky, *Die Skulpturen aus dem Eschmun Heiligtum bei Sidon. Antike Kunst Beiheft 17* (Basel: Vereinigung der Freunde Antiker Kunst, 1993), 29 note 198. For similar statues see C. Vorster, *Griechische Kinderstatuen* (PhD Bonn University/Cologne: Wasmuth, 1983). See also Th. Hadzisteliou-Price, "The type of the crouching child and the 'temple boys'", *BSA* 64 (1969), 95-111; ead., *Kourotrophos, Cults and Representations of Nursing Deities* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978) and compare C. Beer, *Temple Boys. A Study of Cypriote Votive Sculpture*. Part 1. SIMA 113 (Jonsared: Paul Åström, 1994), appendix A, no. 2.

³⁸ See Hadzisteliou-Price, *Kourotrophos*, 154-156 for a discussion of Athena as kourotrophic at Lindos.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 138-147.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁴¹ Voyatzis, *Early Sanctuary*, 269-270; Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 373-375.

⁴² Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 389-390.

the Stymphalos Athena sanctuary. This certainly reinforces the idea of a nurturing aspect to the cult here. Three or four terracotta figurines of naked males belonging to an earlier group (see below) have also been found, as well as the head of a child from about the second century BC, and the pudgy torso and thighs of a young boy, again seeming to reinforce the effect of the marble child statue, although the last figure may be an Eros.

There appear to be two distinct groups of figurines in the Athena sanctuary. The first is a homogeneous grouping with plaque-like votives which includes three main types: 1) standing draped females with an offering clasped to their chest, usually a bird, 2) sphinxes, 3) cocks. The fabric and types are comparable to products from the Potters' Quarter at Corinth.⁴³ Although many of the figurines from this workshop are generally late Archaic/early Classical in style, they are found in fifth and fourth century contexts in Corinth illustrating the conservative tradition of votive terracotta offerings. The second group is more varied in both style and fabric, and after preliminary examination appears to date from the fourth to second century BC. For the most part, they are fragments of garments from standing draped females. A distinctive sub-group consists of large scale (30-40 cm) figurines, again standing draped females, more majestic and sculptural in style than the other terracotta votives. They are very close in both fabric and style to a group of fourth century figures of peplophoroi from Corinth.⁴⁴ Most of the figurines in this group were found either inside the temple or around the altar to the east; several were burnt.

Identifying the deity in the sanctuary would have proved difficult without the evidence of the inscription: the large quantity of jewellery and the terracotta figurines point to a female divinity, and the marble statue and terracotta figurine of young children suggests a kourotrophic aspect to the goddess, less commonly Athena than Artemis, who happens to be the principal divinity of Stymphalos.⁴⁵

⁴³ A.N. Stillwell, *Corinth XV.2. The Potters Quarter. The Terracottas* (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1952). Comments on the Stymphalos figurines were provided by K.D. Sherwood who is preparing them for publication.

⁴⁴ Cf. G. Davidson, *Corinth XII. The Minor Objects* (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1952), nos. 239-243, pl. 20 for the peplophoroi. I would like to thank Dr. Nancy Bookidis, Corinth excavations, for showing me (HW) the unpublished peplophoroi from her excavations, in the Demeter sanctuary at that city.

⁴⁵ Her image appears on the obverse of coins of Stymphalos.

The archaeological evidence indicates that our sanctuary was not in operation in Roman times, yet according to Pausanias the temple of Artemis was still functioning when he visited Stymphalos, thus almost certainly excluding it from being associated with the sanctuary discussed here. The acropolis temple is also a very modest structure, smaller than what one might expect of the principal religious building of the town. Only the silver medallion with the image of a seated Athena (?) holding Nike mentioned earlier points directly to this goddess, but even this is not a necessary proof of the sanctuary's identification given the variety of divine images which occur in Greek sanctuaries.

A final group of objects, terracotta loomweights, might have served as dedications, but since many were found in a relatively small area in and around the western annex of Building A, it seems more reasonable to associate them with a loom in this room. Simon has collected information on the finds of weaving equipment in Greek sanctuaries and concluded that they are quite common, especially in sanctuaries of Athena, but also of Artemis, Hera and Demeter.⁴⁶ Pausanias mentions the weaving in Elis of a special robe for Hera at Olympia (5.16.2; 6.24.10) and at Amyclae for the image of Apollo there (3.16.2). In both places there was a special room set aside for the purpose. There is also evidence for the weaving of a garment for Hera at Argos, and perhaps also Athena at Argos.⁴⁷ In the Athena Poliouchos (?) sanctuary on the acropolis of Halae in Opuntian Locris, 22 loomweights were found in a room at the edge of the sanctuary. The identification of this as a room for weaving is supported by a third-century inscription which mentions among other sanctuary officials three female 'petamnyphanterai', interpreted as 'weavers of the spreading cloth' by the excavators.⁴⁸ Also

⁴⁶ Simon, *Votive Offerings*, 263-270. Among the Athena sanctuaries are ones at Emporio, Smyrna, Larisa on the Hermos, Lindos, Kamiros, Paros, Athens and Haliartos, to which one may add Athena Alea at Tegea, Halae, Delphi (Marmaria) and Lato. Our thanks to M. Lawall for these latter examples. For the dedication of weaving equipment to Athena in the Palatine Anthology, see S. Milanezi's contribution in this volume, p. 324 note 67.

⁴⁷ For a collection of the evidence, see J.M. Mansfield, *The Robe of Athena and the Panathenaic Peplos* (PhD University of California, Berkeley: UMI, 1985), 443-444. For Athena at Argos, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* vol. I, ed. K. Latte (Hauniae: E. Munksgaard, 1953), 372 s.v. "γεραραδες".

⁴⁸ H. Goldman, "Inscriptions from the Acropolis of Halae", *AJA* 19 (1915), 444-451, esp. 448; ead., "The Acropolis of Halae", *Hesp.* 9 (1940), 478-479, 507-513 figs. 251-260.

notable is the fact that excavators at Halae believed the cult image covered by this cloth may have been in the form of a pillar since the earliest temple produced a herm-like stone lying next to what might have been the base of the cult statue.⁴⁹ More will be said about this below. Since Athena was a goddess of weaving, and since the weaving of a peplos for the cult statue was such a prominent part of the cult celebration for Athena Polias in Athens, the evidence of weaving at Stymphalos is of special interest.⁵⁰

The miniature votive vases from the sanctuary are numerous although rarely intact. At least five hundred vessels are represented and must have been among the most popular dedications to the divinity worshipped. The kotyle is the favourite shape.⁵¹ Such vessels at Corinth go back to the sixth century but equally are found in the fourth, the likely date for most of ours.⁵² At Stymphalos they tended to appear in trenches outside the buildings and we may assume that they were periodically disposed of in the sanctuary. A few have also turned up in trenches in the domestic areas of the lower town at Stymphalos.

We have also attempted to recover information about plant and animal remains in the sanctuary.⁵³ Only a very small amount of the former appeared from sieving and flotation analysis: one example of *triticum aestivum* (wheat) and four of *hordeum vulgare* (barley). Analysis of the limited faunal material yielded evidence for cow, pig, sheep (many more ewes) and goat (all with butcher marks) and snake, tortoise, hare, deer, donkey, and red fox. (Snakes and tortoise reside on the hill today.) Of some interest, however, was the only notable deposit of animal bones, just downhill (southeast) from the altar; it contained at least four examples of horns from young

⁴⁹ For the herm-like stone, see Goldman, *Hesp.* 9 (1940), 399-401.

⁵⁰ Cf. E. Barber, "The Peplos of Athena", in *Goddess and Polis. The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*, ed. J. Neils (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 103-117.

⁵¹ For an illustration see Williams et al., *Classical Views* 16 (1997), 47, pl. 6.

⁵² The miniature kotylai in the Sanctuary of Demeter at Corinth seem to disappear in the late fourth century BC. E. Pemberton, *Corinth XVIII.1. The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The Greek Pottery* (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1989), 65.

⁵³ We are grateful to Dr. Catherine D'Andrea (Simon Fraser University) for analysis of plant remains recovered by flotation carried out by Ms. Kimberley Wooten and to Ms. Deborah Ruscillo (University of Manitoba) for preliminary analysis of animal remains in 1995 and 1999.

goats.⁵⁴ The adult pig bones were large and probably came from wild boars.⁵⁵ Suid remains also included immature individuals as well as neonates. The amount of faunal material from the site is surprisingly small; at Mytilene, for example, we recovered over 30,000 fragments of different animals from the sanctuary of Demeter; at Stymphalos there may be ten per cent of that figure or less. The absence of 'sacred meals' probably explains much of the difference, but there also may have been different techniques of disposing of animal remains.

There is one fascinating area of the sanctuary, so far unmentioned, which may have a bearing on the question of the cult statue. There is a row of five small aniconic stelai located just to the northeast of Building A, and a sixth smaller stele lies by itself just to the north of the north annex. The five stelai are lined up north-south; just to the east of each one of them is a large rough field stone (the northernmost may have a bedrock outcropping rather than a field-stone to its northeast). Pausanias tells us both that the Arcadians were especially fond of such images (8.48.6), and that in the early time, all Greeks worshipped such unwrought stones instead of images (7.22.4).⁵⁶ He (8.31.7) notes a group of 'square-shaped' statues at Megalopolis including Athena (as well as Hermes Agetor, Apollo, Poseidon, Helios Soter, and Herakles) and a second group called the

⁵⁴ Butchering around the base of the horns suggest the removal of keratin. The report of a bronze goat figurine from the sanctuary in *Classical Views* 16 (1997), 48 fig. 7 was mistaken. This came from the Cistercian monastery area, while the hare came from the sanctuary. A second bronze figurine possibly of a hare has appeared now in the sanctuary.

⁵⁵ Compare the evidence of animal sacrifice at other sanctuaries; see R.H. Simms, *Database of Greek Animal Sacrifice* (<http://www.emma.troy.ny.us/faculty/bsimms/mainmenu>). Inscriptions suggest that cows, sheep and lambs were most commonly sacrificed to Athena. Pig and goat are more unusual; wild boar is not attested.

⁵⁶ For a summary of the scholarship on Hermaic pillars, see G. Siebert, in *LIMC* 5 (1990), 375ff., bibliography on pp. 289-290, 295. Recently for Pausanias and 'tetragonoi', W.K. Pritchett, *Pausanias Periegetes* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1998), chapter 2, "Herms and Tetragonoi", 121-137. K.A. Rhomaios, "Ἀρκαδικοὶ Ἑρμαὶ", *Αρχαιολογική Εφεμερίς* 10 (1911), 148-159, reports 50 of these tetragonoi (surmounted by pyramids), of which 18 were in the old Tegea museum; all were Arcadian. The inscribed ones are published in *IG* V.2.59-66, labelled "pilai in pyramides desinentes", but none are inscribed as Hermes. Identified tetragonoi are known for Ammon, Aphrodite, Apollo (3), Athena (2), Helios, Herakles (2), Poseidon (2), Thirty Gods, and Zeus. See also N. Yalouris, "Problems Relating to the Temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai", in *Greece and Italy in the Classical World. Acta of the XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology, London 3-9 September 1978*, vol. 2, ed. N.

‘Ergatai’ (8.32.4) in another district of the same city among which are Athena Ergane, Apollo Agyieus, Hermes, Herakles, and Eileithyia. A fragment of one of these pillars may be preserved, inscribed as Poseidon, and dedicated by Damophon.⁵⁷ It appears to provide a date in the Late Classical-Hellenistic period for these pillars, given the foundation date for this city. Another noteworthy herm, or pyramidal shape, was discovered at Mantinea, inscribed with the name ‘Athanaia’ and dated to the fourth century BC.⁵⁸ Finally, Pausanias (7.22.5) mentions close to thirty square stones worshipped by the people of Pharai not so far away in Achaia, each with the name of a god. There is therefore plenty of evidence to suggest that the stelai at Stymphalos represent a group of Greek gods, reflecting a particularly Arcadian aspect of Greek religion, a reluctance to accept a totally anthropomorphic view of the gods. The field stones in front of at least four of these stelai is also significant, since they would seem to be rough ‘offering tables’ if not altars where worshippers might honour the gods represented by the pillars.⁵⁹

In light of the apparently strong evidence for tetragonal representations of deities in the isolated northwest quadrant of the Athena sanctuary, it is worth returning to the cella of the temple and recalling that a large square base was found off axis and with different orientation set close beside a shaved outcropping of bedrock not far from the centre of the room (Dimensions 64-67 cm long by 59-62 cm wide; height ca. 23-25 cm). Neither setting lines, grooves, holes nor any other indication of the use of this rather carefully finished stone were visible. Clearly something important

Coldstream and M.A.R. Colledge (London: The National Organizing Committee, XI International Congress of Archaeology, 1979), 89-104, esp. 100-101, and for Crete, J.W. Shaw, “Phoenicians in Southern Crete”, *AJA* 93 (1989), 173 for some aniconic stelai at post-Minoan Kommos. Others are known in Magna Graecia. For the worship of a group of gods together as a kind of collective, see S.G. Miller, “The Altar of the Six Goddesses in Thessalian Pherai”, *California Studies in Classical Archaeology* 7 (1975), 231-256; C. Picard, “Les ‘agoras de dieux’ en Grèce”, *BSA* 46 (1951), 132-142.

⁵⁷ *IG* 5.2 454; *BSA* 12 (1905), 134 figs. 10-11. We are grateful to A. Villing for these and other references on the tetragonoi. For the stele-like, Arcadian type ‘herms’, see H. Wrede, *Die antike Herme* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1986), 50-52.

⁵⁸ *IG* 5.2 280; *LIMC* 2 (1984), 957 s.v. Athena 4 (P. Demargne); see Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 129.

⁵⁹ Pausanias (8.48.6) says that at Tegea there was an altar of “Full-grown Zeus” and a tetragonos.

and sturdy was set on top of this base inside the cella, but in the simplest of ways. It is the only candidate for a cult-statue base. Lying close to the base, in a row of medium-sized stones between the base and the north cella wall, is a large fragment of a tetragonos, badly burnt in the destruction material lying on the floor, so that its 2 squared corners on the top side were calcined, badly cracked and during excavation partly fractured off. Its dimensions are 19 x 18 cm, with a maximum preserved length of 41 cm. This tetragonos, despite its now poor condition is the most carefully finished of all the 'stelai' in the sanctuary. Very fine chiselling, likely also with some polishing, produced a fine flat surface on all four sides (rather than three sides as on the other tetragonoi outside the temple). As difficult as it is to square this with our normal conception of Greek cult statues, especially when one remembers the three fine marble statues found in small pieces in this same cella, one must seriously consider whether this tetragonos is in fact part of the cult statue for this temple, and that it once may have stood on the nearby stone base.

There are, of course, numerous examples mentioned by ancient authors of cult statues with very simple shape. Perhaps one recalls, first of all, the xoanon representing Athena Polias on the Athenian Acropolis, for which a garment was woven yearly. Examples of tetragonoi, however, which have actually been found in a temple context are rare. Two possible instances may be cited. In the Argive Heraion, a hexagonal κίων or pillar was thought by the excavator to be the one mentioned by Pausanias at the site.⁶⁰ The second example is at the Athena sanctuary at Halae. Here H. Goldman noted the proximity of a tetragonos to a base within the early temple and at least suggested that this may be the cult statue.⁶¹ Confirmation of this suggestion at Stymphalos is, however, lacking and so it remains merely an intriguing possibility.

Finally, a word should be said about Athena as Polias. There is some reason to suspect Athenian influence in the cult at Stymphalos. The very prominence of the cult of Athena Polias at Athens, the parallel with the evidence for weaving in the cult activity, the inscriptional evidence for a cult of Artemis Brauronia at Stymphalos,

⁶⁰ C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum I* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co./Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1902), 42-43, 139 figs. 15, 70. Ch. Pfaff informs us that this identification has recently been disputed.

⁶¹ Goldman, *Hesp.* 9 (1940), 399-401 fig. 26.

and the apparent Attic workmanship of at least the kore statue, as well as the very rareness of a kore in the Peloponnese while such statues are common on the Athenian Acropolis, all bear on this matter. But within Arcadia, Athena Polias is certainly not unique to Stymphalos. 'Polias' is found at Megalopolis (Paus. 8.31.9) on a low hill (symbolic acropolis ?) in the north part of the city,⁶² as well as at Phigalia,⁶³ and 'Poliatis' at Tegea.⁶⁴ Jost suggests from the archaeological evidence that the most flourishing time for the cult of Athena in Arcadia was during the Classical period down to the third century BC. The spread of the cult is at its maximum in this period.⁶⁵ Furthermore, she concludes that the main or essential role for Athena in Arcadia during this time was as Athena Polias (i.e. divinité poliade) even if there are few supporting texts. Placement of these sanctuaries show that she is largely an urban goddess. At Phe-neos and Aliphera, her sanctuaries are on the citadel; at Tegea and Megalopolis, they are on hills; at Alea, Mantinea, Mainalos and Athenaion, they are in the town. One exception is at Kleitor (Athena Korai) where the sanctuary is on a height outside the city; and there is an Athena cult on Mt. Boreion in the Chora overlooking the pass into Tegea. Only at Tegea is Athena the main city goddess, and here she is a poliad divinity.

To summarise the evidence that bears on cultic activity in the sanctuary on the acropolis of Stymphalos: there were three principal structures – a simple temple facing east, an altar in an irregularly paved area east of the temple, and a multi-roomed service building (Building A) north of the altar with several apparent functions. At the entrance to the temple there was a probable perirrhanterion base (still in place) suggesting ritual cleansing before entering the sacred building. Within the temple there was an off-centre base, perhaps for a small cult statue, as well as many votives that include numerous examples of women's jewellery and of draped female terracotta figurines.

⁶² Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 230, her list p. 363.

⁶³ *IG* 5.2, 421; Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 362.

⁶⁴ Paus. 8.47.5; *IG* 5.2, 10, 11, 81; and a fifth century BC relief, Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 363.

⁶⁵ Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 363-364. Coins reflect the popularity of Athena during this period, and the type adopted is the Athenian poliad goddess with helmeted head in profile, sometimes with helmet resting on the top of the head, as Jost, pl. 16.3. (Jost's pl. 19 figs. 3 and 6 are reversed, fig. 6 is Athena.).

The altar's use needs no explanation, but to date there has been little evidence for the actual sacrifices made on the altar beyond a small deposit of bones and some young goat horns southeast of the altar.

Building A provides evidence for cooking in the eastern end of the vestibule and there is a suggestion of drinking (moulded bowls) going on in the northern annex, and perhaps most significant, of weaving taking place in the western annex.

These observations represent a preliminary attempt at placing the archaeological evidence from our work at Stymphalos in the context of Arcadian and wider Greek worship of the goddess Athena. Questions will remain, even as we conclude the excavation phase of this project and begin a more detailed study of the finds to date. We hope to add more to our knowledge of this small but fascinating complex and its place in the religious and social history of ancient Stymphalos.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE WORSHIP OF ATHENA ON THE ATHENIAN ACROPOLIS: DEDICATIONS OF PLAQUES AND PLATES

Claudia Wagner

Dedications give us a clear picture of how central a part religion played in ancient Athenian life. The songs of processions, the sacrificial blood, wine, and honey-cakes have all vanished, but what remains to tell us about religious practices at first hand are the objects dedicated to the gods. It is not only religious practices that are illuminated through the dedications, they also offer an unrivalled glimpse of history which otherwise might elude us. The dedications recovered from the Acropolis range from marble statues, bronze statuettes and vessels to terracotta figurines. However, among all the classes of objects from the Acropolis the pottery is represented by the greatest number of items. For the modern scholar vases, even though gifts of a comparatively humble kind, prove to be very valuable indeed. They allow us insight into the dedication practices of a wide cross-section of Athenian society.

In this chapter I will discuss dedications of two pottery shapes, the plaques and plates, their function and decoration. The pottery dedications from the Athenian Acropolis have a favourite motive: the goddess Athena herself.¹ Nowhere is this more apparent than on these two shapes.

Plaques and plates seem to be the potter's version of a picture. Both shapes were provided with holes for suspension, indicating that they were intended to be hung. The most commonly used form

¹ C. Wagner, *Dedication Practices on the Athenian Acropolis* (PhD Oxford University, 1997), 74: Between the years 525 and 475 the proportion of representations of Athena on the Acropolis is an approximate average of 1 in 5 vases. This is a much higher share than in vase painting in general. The Beazley Archive Database lists 8507 vases in the same time span; 158 of these depict Athena, which would be equivalent to a proportion of about 1 in 50. If we deduct all the fragments with non-figure decoration the role of Athena becomes even more dominant.

for plaques is the simple rectangular flat slab, which is occasionally modified by rounding the edges. Plates share the flat clay surface on which the main decoration is displayed, but although they appear to be designed for the same purpose, they differ in technique. Plates are not hand-made but thrown on the potter's wheel: flat, circular shapes with raised rims. While the decoration on both shapes follows the vase painter's repertoire, plaques can be decorated on both sides, Athenian plates only on one. Decoration on both sides makes sense if the object was intended to hang freely, for example on a tree.²

Plaques have only been found in religious contexts, sanctuaries and graves, and suggest no other use than as dedication or grave decoration. It is a different matter for the plates. A far greater proportion of plates than plaques are funerary, specifically made and decorated for export. They appear in large numbers in particular in the cemeteries across Italy, Spina and Chiusi taking the lead.³ Could the plates also have had a more practical use in daily life? After all, a receptacle for the display of food in the sanctuary and at home must have existed.⁴ The case has been made that the figure decoration with its many unglazed areas proves plates to be unsuitable for contact with food.⁵ This should certainly be true for the delicate white-ground plates. Wood seems a good candidate for the material preferred in everyday use, not just for plates but also for plaques.⁶ The technique of covering the background of plaques with a white slip is a dominant feature of the earliest pieces and again of the latest. This is a strong reminder of the literary evidence, which refers to wooden plaques being prepared for decoration in this manner. The clay examples, of course, do not require this preparation and their employment of white-ground seems rather a reflec-

² J. Boardman, "Painted Votive Plaques and an Inscription from Aegina", *BSA* 49 (1954), 183-201, esp. 192-193.

³ These were made with a higher foot and different range of decoration; D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, *Les Plats Attiques* (Paris: de Boccard, 1974), 20; I. Wehgartner, *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik Maltechniken, Werkstätten, Formen, Verwendung* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1983), 150.

⁴ Athenian plates are not often depicted on vases: Callipolitis-Feytmans, *Les Plats*, 18, note 7; G.M.A. Richter, *Ancient furniture: a history of Greek, Etruscan and Roman furniture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), fig. 344.

⁵ Callipolitis-Feytmans, *Les Plats*, 21.

⁶ Wehgartner, *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik*, 150; B. Sparkes and S. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora XII. Black and Plain Pottery of the 5th and 4th Centuries* (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1970), 144.

tion of the practice necessary for their wooden counterparts. If this assumption is correct wooden plaques must have been a very common dedication, very likely outnumbering the clay variant with its more costly production process.⁷ Wooden plaques were found in the sanctuary of Nymphs at Pitsa near Sicyon.⁸ The large number of early white-ground clay plaques pays tribute to a strong dependence on the wooden model. The steady increase of white-ground towards the end of its production might well be an indication of a new popularity for the wooden plaque, of new painting techniques, which have outgrown the possibilities of decoration on clay.

The evidence from excavations for the use of plates in everyday life is difficult to interpret. The Agora provides us with two contexts which suggest debris linked to the symposium, layer 5 in the Archaic well J2:4 under an early Roman temple,⁹ and a dining place.¹⁰ The well contains 12 pieces of figured pottery in a range of shapes suitable for the symposium but contains not a single plate fragment. The dining area held a sizeable quantity of undecorated plates, 14 fragments of banded plates and a plate with rilled rim, but only one black-figure and one red-figure piece.¹¹ The evidence of the two contexts might reflect a change of use for plates. There are no clear indications that plates were used in the symposium at the time of the earlier context of the well (the pottery dates to the decades around 500 BC) which does not include the shape, but the later context of the dining room with a sizeable group of plain plates does suggest a practical function.¹² There can be no doubt that the shape became established as part of the symposium set; however, if figure decorated plates ever were included remains doubtful. This is all the more likely as the red-figure and black-figure pieces are by no means the only odd inclusions in the dining room context, which also held fragments of a lebes gamikos and of a loutrophoros.¹³ The figure decorated plates might thus still have been intended as dedi-

⁷ Boardman, *Plaques*, 188.

⁸ A.K. Orlandos, in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica* 6 (1965), 200-206, s.v. Pitsa.

⁹ J.M. Camp, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1994 and 1995", *Hesp.* 65 (1996), 242-252.

¹⁰ S.I. Rotroff and J.H. Oakley, *Debris from a Dining Place in the Athenian Agora. Hesp. Suppl.* 25 (Athens: American School of Classical Studies, 1992).

¹¹ Rotroff and Oakley, *Debris from a Dining Place*, pls. 51, 252, 253, 251; black-figure: pls. 2, 7; red-figure: pls. 30, 79.

¹² Banded plates from around 450; rilled plate from around 325 BC.

¹³ Rotroff and Oakley, *Debris from a Dining Place*, pls. 12, 130, and 114.

cations. As most plates of their class they probably had holes for suspension, the most tangible indication of the difference in intended function between them and their plain, hole-less counterparts. Vase-painters probably saw little difference between the decoration of plaques and plates. Many scholars have remarked on the similarities of the two shapes. They share rare motifs such as the chequers on white-ground covering the rims of three Euthymides plates, which are also a feature on plaques, and the horizontal structure of the decoration on plates using an exergue as ground-line recalls strongly a plaque with a decorated rim.¹⁴

The majority of plaques from the Acropolis display high quality decoration, and leading painters – the Nettos Painter, the Amasis Painter, the Euphiletos Painter, Skythes, the Rycroft Painter, the Berlin Painter and the Nikoxenos Painter – decorated plaques. Scruffy white-ground ticket plaques were found in provincial sanctuaries such as Eleusis or smaller shrines in Athens; they were presumably not dedicated on the Acropolis.¹⁵

A wide range of workshops made plates and most seem to be represented on the Acropolis. The size of the plate seems to be directly connected to the size of vessel usually produced in the workshop. The big and normal sized plates (Callipolitis-Feytman's type A/B I) come generally from workshops specialised in the big shapes like hydriai and amphorae, those specialised in cups tend to produce the small version (A/B III), and miniature plates (A/B IV) are all made by miniature workshops.¹⁶ The numbers of black- and red-figure plates are more evenly matched than the plaques, which are mainly black-figure.

The pottery on the Acropolis spans the entire range of shapes. Every vase chosen from the stock of shapes employed for general use, however, leaves us with the problem of determining whether the iconography is in any form connected to its use as a dedication. The vase-shapes closely linked to votive practices, such as plaques and plates, will enable us to identify subjects thought most appropriate as dedications for the goddess. We are reassured in this as-

¹⁴ J.R. Mertens, *Attic White-Ground: its Development on Shapes Other Than on Lekythoi* (New York: Garland, 1977), 119; plaques B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* (Berlin: G. Reimer Verlag, 1925-33), nos. 2590 and 1037; Callipolitis-Feytmans refers to plates as 'round plaques'.

¹⁵ Boardman, *Plaques*, 188-189.

¹⁶ Callipolitis-Feytmans, *Les Plats*, 16.

sumption by the fact that Athena herself appears on so many of them. The contexts in which she is shown are many. The most popular depiction of Athena on the Acropolis, however, is as armed warrior with shield and spear striding forward energetically, a type often termed 'Promachos'. The popularity of this type coincides with the introduction of the Panathenaic amphorae, which were established as prizes for the reorganised Panathenaea in the 560s.

The Promachos type is especially prevalent on shapes with a decoration zone that can be filled with a single figure such as the plaques, plates, and also the tondos of cups. Plaques are dominated by this image more than any other shape.¹⁷ The dominance of the type is exceptionally distinct around the middle and the third quarter of the sixth century. In particular the fine white-ground plaque by Paseas has to be mentioned here. The image of Athena employed by Paseas is that of the Panathenaic prize vases and the inscription "one of the paintings of Paseas" has the ring of the official inscription of the Panathenaea. Is this the dedication of a rejected bidder for the state-contract to provide the vessels for the games, as Boardman suggested?¹⁸ Or is it an attempt at advertising?

The vases decorated with this image often confirm the dedication to have been ordered by the dedicator, and the painted dedicatory formula on the early Lydos plate NM 2411 is a good example of this.¹⁹ The dedicator was probably a woman.²⁰

Mythological subjects in which Athena plays a prominent part are also abundant on the Acropolis. The most important and numerous are the birth of Athena and the gigantomachy.

¹⁷ Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, nos. 2503 pl. 103; 2484 pl. 100; 2507 pl. 101; 2493 pl. 101; 2502 pl. 103; probably 2505 pl. 103; 2502 and 2540 pl. 108.

¹⁸ J. Boardman, *JHS* 75 (1955), 20; id., *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), 106. The argument put forward in J. Neils (ed.), *Goddess and Polis. The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 147-149, that contracts are awarded to potters and not painters (Paseas signs *egraphsen*) is not very convincing. Even if we assume Paseas had no stake in the ownership of the workshop it is difficult to conceive how the fortunes of the workshop should not be of prime interest to him. Furthermore, the plaques show Paseas eager to use innovative techniques, as the shiny white background slip. This signifies his standing in the workshop and his pride in the work he is doing.

¹⁹ With later additions: Callipolitis-Feytmans, *Les Plats*, pl. 20 no. 24. She connects the plate to the young Lydos in the 'atelier des godrons'.

²⁰ Callipolitis-Feytmans, *Les Plats*, 313, suggests a second *athenaia*. The repetition, however, seems rather unlikely to me.

The birth of Athena must be the most appropriate myth for dedication to the goddess.²¹ Therefore it comes as no surprise to find the earliest known depiction of the subject on an Acropolis plaque.²² Altogether the subject appears eight times on the Acropolis pottery, which represents more than a third of all Attic vases where it is identified.²³ Two of the depictions are on plaques and as such proclaim themselves as votives, and the name-vase of the Painter of Akropolis 601, a hydria, was carefully defined as a dedication through a painted dedicatory formula as *aparchen* (firstfruit). However, the best assessment of the value of the subject as dedication is offered by the peculiar idiosyncrasies of plaque Akropolis 2578 (Pl. 5a). Here the subject has been chosen by the dedicator to be produced abroad, in Corinth.²⁴ The plaque is painted in Corinthian style and apparently on Corinthian clay, but the inscription seems atticised and the subject remains a singular piece in Corinthian vase painting.²⁵ The most likely explanation of the idiosyncrasies of the plaque is the commission of the piece from the potter with specific subject matter and inscription. The potter was most conceivably a Corinthian or at least a craftsman working in Corinth; the dedicator was probably Athenian or, less likely, a trader so well acquainted with Athens to insist on special subject matter and inscription for a dedication on the Acropolis. One more solution springs to mind: a Corinthian potter, encouraged by the Solonic promise of acquisition of Athenian citizenship for craftsmen and their families, might have decided to emigrate and dedicate the plaque himself.

In her Promachos stance Athena appears as if she is about to engage in fighting an opponent. The only battle in which she is actu-

²¹ Other famous renditions of the subject on the Acropolis are the statue group seen by Pausanias (Paus. 1.24.2) and on the Parthenon.

²² Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, no. 2521. The comparison with the amphora from Cerveteri (Rome, Vatican inv. 353; *LMC* 2 [1984], 986 s.v. Athena 340 [H. Cassimatis]) which also employs the bird as signal of the birth disperses doubts as to the identification of the subject.

²³ Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, nos. 597 a-e pl. 24 (*ABV* 77.3); 601 pl. 28 (Painter of Akropolis 601, *ABV* 80.1), the column-krater no. 638 pl. 38, and the two amphorae nos. 776 pl. 50 (attributed to the Tyrrhenian Group) and 777; 612 pl. 36.

²⁴ See *BCH* 84 (1960), 866, for another fragment, from the sanctuary of Athena Poliouchos in Thasos.

²⁵ *LMC* 2 (1984), 986 s.v. Athena 343 (H. Cassimatis); K.W. Arafat, *Classical Zeus, a Study in Art and Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 32-38. See also S. Ritter, this volume, p. 148.

ally depicted with her enemy is the battle of the gods against the giants.²⁶ The gigantomachy becomes a well-liked subject for dedication on the Acropolis before the middle of the sixth century and the Acropolis examples remain the only early depictions of the gigantomachy extant. The early versions depict Athena next to the chariot, Zeus as charioteer, closely followed by Heracles; battling gods and giants surround this group. The subject is especially popular on dinoi and big column-kraters, such as the dinos Akropolis 607, signed by Lydos.²⁷ The gigantomachy is also Lydos' choice of motif on a plate, Akropolis 2403. Around the 520s, Athena is locked in single combat with a giant on plaque Akropolis 2559. Behind her (covering her back) is probably another group of fighters, presumably including Heracles or Zeus. Around 500 Athena and the giant are depicted by Paseas on plaque Akropolis 2584,²⁸ and on one of the scenes on plaque Akropolis 2499, which shows Athena using the aegis like a shield.

Athena is always a central figure in the depiction of the gigantomachy on Attic pottery,²⁹ and on the Acropolis the gigantomachy was a central feature of the Panathenaic festival: the subject was woven into the sacred peplos, possibly on all occasions of its dedication which may account for its popularity on vases soon after the reorganisation of the Panathenaea in the 560s. By around 500 BC the most prominent display of the gigantomachy became the marble group in the pediment of the Old Temple of Athena.

From the third quarter of the sixth century onwards Athena appears increasingly in 'religious settings'. In the temple scenes Athena seems to be in 'her house' in person. In other scenes it is not very clear if Athena is present or her cult statue.³⁰ The most striking examples are the two plaques which show her in a temple. On Akropolis 2547 she is standing with shield and owl in front of a

²⁶ Her traditional opponent is Enceladus; Eur. *Ion*, 209-10; Apollod. 1.6.1-2. For the Attic vase gigantomachies see *LIMC* 4 (1988), 215-234, 265 (F. Vian).

²⁷ By Lydos: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, nos. 607 pl. 33/34/35 (dinos) and 631 pl. 39 (column-krater), 608 pl. 39 (dinos); by Nearchos: *ibid.* no. 612 pl. 36 (krater); by a painter of the Group E: *ibid.* 648 (big column-krater).

²⁸ Joined to a piece from the North-Slope AP 2360 E.

²⁹ *LIMC* 2 (1984), 990-991; 1023-1024 (P. Demargne); H.A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1989), 38-40; K. Schefold, *Früh-griechische Sagenbilder* (Munich: Hirmer, 1964), 60.

³⁰ Cult: Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, nos. 1220 pl. 67 (= *LIMC* 2 [1984], 1010 s.v. Athena 577 [P. Demargne]), 806, 613.

table on which fruit-like objects are lying. Hermes accompanies her. Another Ionic temple is depicted on Akropolis 2549.³¹ Athena is seated on a chair holding her helmet on her lap. The badly preserved phorminx-player has been identified as Apollo, or – perhaps more plausible – Heracles.³²

Athena appears with her favourite hero and protégé Heracles in a variety of scenes. Heracles first comes to prominence on the Acropolis vases around the middle of the sixth century. A great number of plaques depict chariot-scenes with him and Athena. They start in the 530s. A piece signed by Skythes, not from the start of the series, is the white-ground Akropolis 2586. Athena is depicted as charioteer and on the very right Hermes attends. Also signed by Skythes is the very similar plaque Akropolis 2557 where Athena is not preserved, only Heracles in the car attended by Hermes. Several variations are possible, among them a plaque by Paseas, Akropolis 2591, which this time shows Heracles and Iolaos in the car, and Athena standing in the background.

There is evidence that even among the numerous genre-scenes many might have been selected on purpose. The most striking example is the Euergides cup.³³ Here a scene from a workshop is depicted but the presence of Athena shows that the dedicator is anxious to record the service she does in her role as Ergane. The potter himself would have been conscious of his debt to the patron goddess.³⁴ Two plates from the Acropolis have been suggested as potter dedications: the plate signed by Epiktetos as painter and potter³⁵ remains the only vase signed by him as *poietes* and the shape of the plate is unlike the models he usually decorated,³⁶ and the Berlin Painter's plate, the only white-ground piece in this painter's oeuvre.³⁷ Both plates were painted with an Athena.

³¹ Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis*, nos. 2547 and 2549 pl. 105.

³² For the discussion see J. Boardman, in *LIMC* 4 (1988), s.v. Herakles 1453.

³³ Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis* II, no. 166; *LIMC* 2 (1984), 962 s.v. Athena 40 (P. Demargne), dated 515-500.

³⁴ Cf. C. Wagner, "The Potters and Athena. Dedications on the Athenian Acropolis", in *PERIPLOUS. To Sir John Boardman From His Pupils and Friends*, ed. G. Tsetskhladze, A. Snodgrass, and J. Prag (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), 383-387; Wagner, *Dedications*, 85-88, 125-127, 135.

³⁵ Graef and Langlotz, *Akropolis* II, no. 6.

³⁶ Callipolitis-Feytmans, *Les Plats*, 216-217.

³⁷ M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 83.

Apparently, however, not only the artisan can appeal for the goddess's help; as protector of her city and everything within, nothing seems to be beyond her powers. The plaques bear witness to activities as far apart as the harvest of grapes and the lusty union of hetairai and their lovers. Both might be interpreted as prayers for future good fortune or as thankful gifts for past favours.

I have shown that Athena is a dominant feature on plaques and plates. However, this is more true for the plaques than for the plates. Could this be a chronological development? On the Acropolis the plates are increasing in popularity when the market in plaques is in decline, and the greater diversity of subjects can also be observed on the later plaques. From about 570 BC onwards, both plaques and plates begin to take up a significant proportion of the Acropolis pottery. The lack of enthusiasm for plaques at the height of pottery dedications (around 500 BC) is perhaps due to the greater fondness for plates. The number of plates mirrors the general increase in pottery when the plaque production is sluggish. Perhaps dedicators were choosing other shapes from the potter's repertoire. After all, the interior of a cup offers a similar space for decoration as the plate, but is more expensive to throw on the potter's wheel and takes up a larger area in the kiln. The decline in the plainer shapes may simply be a reflection of rising prosperity.

Plaques and plates are both comparatively rare among the shapes of Attic vases. However, it comes as no surprise to find that the Acropolis in Athens is the major source for both. Well over half of all known Attic plaques and about a third of all known Attic plates were found in the sanctuary, ranging from the sixth to the beginning of the fifth century BC. We have seen earlier that plaques and plates dedicated on the Acropolis often show an iconography appropriate for the intended recipient Athena, but we do not know to what extent this is due to the dedicator's choice or to a general production of these shapes for such a specific purpose. The abundance of the two shapes certainly indicates that the Acropolis was a major recipient of both shapes, something the potters might well have been aware of. This might be reflected in the subjects chosen for decoration.

Over a hundred plaque fragments were recovered from the Acropolis, and the North Slope and Agora pieces (about 20 plaques) might well have originated there, too. Eleusis falls far behind with

eight plaques. The subjects chosen for decoration of plaques reflect popular iconography. However, both on the Acropolis and in Eleusis the goddesses of the sanctuary becomes the favourite motive. Athena is depicted on substantially more than a third of the plaques on the Acropolis; Demeter and Persephone are equally dominant in Eleusis. Subjects which do not appear suitable on first sight, such as two erotic plaques, perhaps have to be re-evaluated and might even give us the occupation of their dedicator.

The plate is a popular dedication in the Athenian sanctuaries, most prolific on the Acropolis, in Eleusis and Brauron. The shape was also exported widely and the odd piece appears at excavations throughout Greece, in Delos (the Heraion) and Delphi, Italy, Ionia, and even Naukratis, at sanctuaries, such as the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone in Cyrene,³⁸ or the sanctuary of Malophoros in Selinus (the name-vase of the Painter of the Palermo Gorgoneion),³⁹ and cemeteries.

Again, the iconography is varied, with a recurrence of standard subjects known from vase painting. On the Acropolis it becomes again apparent that Athena is once more a favourite motive. Strangely, no other sanctuary reveals such a selection of motives. Artemis is as elusive on the plates from Brauron as Demeter and Persephone on those from Eleusis.

The difference in the decoration of the two shapes in all sanctuaries except the Acropolis shows that the plaques and plates were treated differently, that dedicators of plaques probably did expect the decoration to be peculiar to the sanctuary or the reason for dedication. Dedicators of plates show the same consideration on the Acropolis but not in any other sanctuary. The evidence certainly highlights the potters' special relationship with the Acropolis. Athena and her sanctuary were important to them, not just because their quarters stood in the shadow of the Acropolis or because it was the dominant sanctuary of the city but because Athena was the patron of their craft.

³⁸ M.B. Moore et al., *The Extramural Sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene, Libya: Final Reports 3* (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1987), pls. 31-34.

³⁹ G. Rizza (ed.), "I vasi attici ed altre ceramiche coeve in Sicilia", *Cronache* (1998), 135, fig. 2a-b.

CHAPTER SIX

HOMERIC ATHENA IN THE CHRONICLE OF LINDOS

Carolyn Higbie

Votive offerings from Greeks to their gods were a constant element of their religious life, as literary, documentary, and archaeological sources all reveal. Greek cities and leagues, and individuals, everyone from the most famous to the humblest, placed dedications in sanctuaries of gods to thank them for victories, cures, and rescues. In addition, Greeks offered prayers and sacrifices, but these had no physical presence. Only votives and the temples which housed them offered the possibility of a semi-permanent memento of human devotion to the divine.¹ Greeks accustomed to this part of religious life might have looked back on Trojan War figures in some surprise. Homer's heroes are eager to obtain plunder and recognize its value in binding warriors to each other, as Agamemnon and Achilles illustrate in their quarrel over plunder in *Iliad* 1 and in Agamemnon's catalogue of gifts to entice Achilles back into battle in *Iliad* 9, but they are not very interested in giving even tokens of it to the gods. They regularly offer prayers and animal sacrifices, even a human sacrifice, but few heroes dedicate votives, either the weapons of a defeated enemy or something from their own arsenal.

There are exceptions to this. Twice in the early books of the *Iliad*, Hector either promises or arranges such gifts to the gods. Instructed by Helenus, Hector orders his mother to have the Trojan women make an offering to Athena so that she might pity the Trojans and keep away Diomedes. Hector refers to the goddess as Ἀθηναίη ἀγελαίη (6.269=279), giving her an epithet which is ambiguous and nicely so: she can be either 'Athena who brings plunder' (ἄγω + ληΐη) or 'Athena leader of the people' (ἄγω +

¹ See F.T. van Straten, "Gifts for the Gods", in *Faith, Hope, and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, ed. H.S. Versnel (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981), 61-151.

λαός).² But when Theano places on the goddess's knees a gown from Sidon and promises further gifts, she unsuccessfully invokes the goddess as πότνι 'Ἀθηναίη, ἐρυσίπολι, δῖα θεάων – "mistress Athena, city-protector, shining among goddesses" (6.305).³

Later, in *Iliad* 7, Hector proposes single combat with a Greek. Should he triumph, he says he will dedicate the weapons of the defeated hero to Apollo, but the body he promises to return to the Greeks and he expects that the burial mound will commemorate his victory for generations to come. This double action which Hector envisages, the gift of the armour to the god and the return of the defeated hero's body for burial, satisfies the complex demands of both gods and humans in the Homeric world. Hector is not put to the test, however, of living up to his words: after Apollo intervenes to set Hector upright when Ajax knocks him to the ground (7.272), the two men exchange gifts, with neither weapons for the god nor a corpse for burial honours.⁴

On the Greek side, only Odysseus and Diomedes on their night-time raid in the *Doloneia*, aided by Athena, reveal the partnership which can exist between humans and divinities, in a scene which contains in miniature all the elements for a successful association between man and god, as envisioned by later Greeks. Diomedes chooses Odysseus as his partner in the expedition because of Athena's regard for the hero, although Diomedes himself is similarly blessed with her patronage: Athena appears before the two heroes as they set out on their raid and each in turn offers up a prayer, which the poet reports she hears. After they slaughter Dolon, Odysseus places the dead man's arms high in a tree and prays ap-

² I would suggest that ἀγγελίη is somewhat parallel to the two different spellings and etymologies of Agamemnon's wife's name: she is both Κλυταίμνηστρη, 'famous for suitors', and Κλυταίμηστρη, 'famous for cunning'. On the importance of placing 'folk-etymology' in both diachronic and synchronic contexts, see G. Nagy, "The Name of Achilles: Questions of Etymology and 'Folk-Etymology'", *Illinois Classical Studies* 19 (1994), 3-9.

³ This robe might be considered an example of war booty, as in Proclus' summary of the *Cypria* Paris is said to have attacked Sidon, but this detail is not included in Homer. See Hdt. 2.113-117, where he discusses versions of Paris' return to Troy with Helen.

⁴ Hector's promises in *Iliad* 7 do not match up with his later actions: in the fight with Patroclus and its aftermath, he disregards the gods who have helped him and dishonours Patroclus' corpse (see 17.125ff.).

propriately to Ἀθηναίη ληΐτις, 'Athena goddess of plunder',⁵ both to thank her and to ask for her help against Rhesus and his Thracians (10.460-466). Athena rewards Odysseus' offering and his prayer with help against the enemy, so the hero completes the series of human obligations to a divinity begun when he prayed and she listened (10.570-579).

In the Homeric world, what is true of individuals in their relation to gods seems also to be true for communities, who can gain or lose divine favour and thus grow or shrink in power. Troy has a temple to Athena and a famous statue of her, the Palladion, so we must assume that at some point in the city's history it enjoyed the interest of that goddess, but it lost that connection, perhaps when Paris slighted Athena and chose Aphrodite in the contest of the three goddesses.⁶ That loss is shown most vividly when Athena rejects the offering brought her by Theano (6.311).

Against this Homeric background I would like to place an inscription now known as the Lindos Chronicle (Pl. 2).⁷ It was excavated early in this century by the Danish expedition, which found it used as a paving block of the Byzantine church dedicated to St. Stephen, near the theatre at the base of the Lindian acropolis. Although badly damaged from the inscribed face being turned upwards, most of the inscription is still legible. As well, the entries are formulaic enough to enable a certain amount of restoration to be made with confidence. Inscribed in 99 BC, the Chronicle is divided on the stone into four sections: a decree passed by the Lindians (A), the catalogue of the votives (B-C), and a briefer catalogue of the epiphanies of Athena on Rhodes (D).⁸

⁵ This epithet appears only here in Homer. Pausanias 5.14.5 remarks that at Olympia Ἀθῆνα Ληΐτις receives sacrifices. See also Lycoph. *Alex.* 853-855: Menelaus makes offerings to Athena, πάρθενος σκυλητρία.

⁶ See Hera's words to Poseidon (*Il.* 20.313-317): she and Athena have sworn oaths never to drive destruction away from Troy. Although Hera does not refer to the contest, it seems to be implied in her words.

⁷ See A. Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1988), 52-57, for an introduction to the Chronicle and scholarship on it.

⁸ The Chronicle was published by C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos: Fouilles de l'Acropole, 1902-1914* vol. 2. *Inscriptions* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1941), 149-199 no. 2; also id., "La Chronique du Temple Lindien", *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale des sciences et des lettres de Danemark* 5-6 (1912), 317-457. The date is fixed by a list of the priests of Athena at Lindos.

The worship of Athena on Rhodes reflected a local belief that the goddess was particularly associated with the island. The varieties of this association as sung by Pindar in *Olympian* 7⁹ included a shower of gold which Zeus caused to rain over the island at the time of Athena's birth (7.34, 49-53) and fireless sacrifices which may have taken place at the temple of Athena Lindia, given an aetiology in the forgetfulness of the Heliadae (7.39-49). Lindos, one of the three original cities on the island, singled out Athena for honour. The city believed that the temple of Athena Lindia on the acropolis had been founded either by Danaus or Danaus and his daughters, in flight from the sons of Aegyptus (Hdt. 2.182.2). Then Cleobulus, one of the seven sages and a tyrant of Lindos in the sixth century BC, was credited with rebuilding this temple (Diog. Laert. 1.6.89). According to a scholion on *Olympian* 7, Pindar's ode was inscribed in gold letters on the side of the temple.¹⁰ At some point in the fourth century BC, the temple was burnt, although the date and destructiveness of the fire are debated. The entire acropolis with the temple was rebuilt during the Hellenistic era,¹¹ but the votives, which the Lindians believed could have testified to the age and status of the sanctuary, were either destroyed or buried in pits on the site.¹² The loss of these votives became important at the end of the second century BC, when the sanctuary of Athena Lindia seems to have become the focus of pilgrimages, or local residents hoped to make it so.¹³

Desiring to reconstruct the history of the sanctuary for the glorification of the town, Hagesitimus,¹⁴ the proposer of the bill to in-

⁹ Composed for Diagoras of Ialysus, victorious as a boxer in 464 BC.

¹⁰ The scholion cites Gorgon, one of the historians consulted by the compilers of the Chronicle, for this information.

¹¹ For a history of the sanctuary, see E. Lippolis, "Il santuario di Athana a Lindo", *ASAA* 66-67 (1988-89), 97-157. See also the chapter on Athena on Rhodes in A.C. Villing, *The Iconography of Athena in Mainland Greece and the East Greek World in the 5th and 4th Centuries BC* (DPhil Oxford University, 1997).

¹² Votives dating back to the Geometric era have been found at the sanctuary; presumably, they were buried and thus Lindians of the second century BC did not know they existed.

¹³ Some visitors may have been Romans sent to the eastern Mediterranean for extended tours of duty or with literary interests and the desire to study on Rhodes. Other visitors, both Greek and Roman, may have landed on Rhodes primarily because it was on one of the trade routes, but were drawn to Lindos by stories of the ancient sanctuary and its votives.

¹⁴ Hagesitimus may also have a personal interest in his bill, as his son Timachidas

ventory the votives and epiphanies, sketches in the background (A2-4):

... ἐπεὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθάνης τῆς Λινδίας ἀρχαιότατόν τε καὶ ἐντιμό-
[τα]τον ὑπάρχον πολλοῖς καὶ καλοῖς ἀναθέμασι ἐξ ἀρχαιοτ]άτων
χρόνων κεκόσμηται διὰ τὰν τῆς θεοῦ ἐπιφάνειαν,
συμβαίνει δὲ τῶν ἀνα[θεμάτων τὰ ἀρχαιότατα μετὰ τὰν ἐ]πιγραφῶν διὰ
τὸν χρόνον ἐφθάρθαι...

...since the *hieron* of Athena Lindia, both the most archaic and most venerable in existence, has been adorned with many beautiful offerings from the earliest times on account of the visible presence of the goddess, and since it happens that the most archaic of the offerings together with the inscriptions have been destroyed on account of time...

Hagesitimus points with pride to the age and status of the sanctuary, characterizing it as ἀρχαιότατόν τε καὶ ἐντιμότατον. His pride derives in part from a sense of the goddess's presence which will be borne out by the two inventories.

Unfortunately for local pride, there was no physical testimony to the age and importance of the Lindian shrine. Oral tradition about the sanctuary was not sufficient, especially since a small, otherwise unimportant town making large claims about its status risked criticism or mockery from travel writers like Pausanias or Strabo.¹⁵ The Lindians seem to have hoped that an inscription, supported by documentary evidence, would suffice, because they no longer had the objects themselves and because their part in the Trojan War expedition was not told in any detail by Homer.¹⁶ They try to supplement the scanty physical remains of their past with written records which they have to collate and reconcile, as their sources do not always agree. Hagesitimus in his decree authorizing the work even specifies what the compilers are to consult (A6-8):

...ἀναγραφάντω δὲ ἕκ τε τῶν
[ἐπ]ιστολῶν καὶ τῶν χρηματ[ισμῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων μαρτυρί]ων ἅ κα
ῖι ἀρμόζοντα περὶ τῶν ἀναθεμάτων καὶ τῆς ἐπιφανείας
[τ]ῆς θε(ο)ῦ

is one of the two men appointed to carry out the task (A12). This Timachidas may be the one cited by Athenaeus as the author of a poem Δεῖπνα/Δεῖπνον (e.g., 1.5a-b) and of a work Γλῶσσαι (e.g., 15.678a).

¹⁵ See, for example, Strabo's reaction to the claims of certain people that they live on the site of ancient Troy (13.1.25 [C593]).

¹⁶ See below for Homer's brief portrait of the Rhodians at Troy.

... Let them inscribe from the
 letters and from the public records and from the other evidence whatever may
 be fitting about the offerings and the visible presence
 of the goddess

The compilers show that they have fulfilled this part of their responsibilities by citing their sources at the end of each entry. Perhaps it was hoped that these sources would be particularly persuasive because they were independent testimony from a variety of authors to the presence of the votives in the Lindian temple.

In the surviving thirty-eight entries, twenty-four sources are used, of which all but three are authors of histories or antiquarian works. The exceptions are documentary sources – two priests of Athena who wrote letters preserved in the archives (e.g., B5-8) and το[ὶ] Λινδί[ων] χρηματισμοί (e.g., C108). The detailed citation of sources is impressive: each entry concludes with a list of the sources which provide this information, citing not just author and title of work, but even book number, where appropriate. Other than scholarly works produced in places like the Museum of Alexandria, such documentation this early is without parallel.¹⁷ The fate of these sources is a sobering one: thirteen or fourteen authors are known only from this document and the Lindian records have not yet been excavated. Eight or nine other authors are known solely from brief references or quotations, chiefly by Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias, or Athenaeus. Only one, Herodotus, cited in the discussion of Amasis' gifts (XXIX), has survived as a complete or almost-complete text for us to read today. Although it is possible that the otherwise unknown authors are fictitious, invented as “merely corroborative detail, intended to give artistic verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative”, the fact that some of the names are identifiable suggests that the writers unknown to us were minor figures, probably of the Hellenistic era, authors of local histories of small towns or obscure islands, who did not survive the winnowing of classical literature.

In the catalogue of votives (B-C), the offerings are presented in a rough chronological order, beginning with that of the eponymous

¹⁷ The Lindian interest in searching for evidence in archives suggests that they have developed a certain ‘document-mindedness’, to use Rosalind Thomas’ term. See ead., *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 71.

Lindos himself and concluding with offerings from figures of the Hellenistic era. The first fourteen donors belong to what we would call the mythological period. Following the offerings of Lindos (I) and the Telchines (II), heroes with particular significance for Rhodes, comes a series of figures whose reputations extend far beyond that island – Cadmus (III), Minos (IV), and Heracles (V), who also fathers two other donors in the Chronicle (VI, VIII). Then nine heroes or groups of men connected with the Trojan War and its aftermath are listed, rounding out the pre-historical section.¹⁸ Drawing on other inventories of votives as parallels, we might characterize the Chronicle as being not comprehensive in its catalogue, but selective: we do not know why other inventories catalogued the objects they did, but I would argue that the Lindians inventoried only those donors and votives which would enhance their belief that their temple was ἀρχαιότατόν τε καὶ ἐντιμότατον.

In the mythological section of the votive inventory, the Lindians connect themselves to many of the most important figures and epic adventures of the Greek past: the founding of Thebes, the Cretan thalassocracy, Heracles, and the Trojan War. Trojan War heroes dominate this section of the Chronicle, due partly to the luck of geography, to the chances of history, since Greeks after the Persian Wars and in Alexander's time saw the Trojan War and Persian Wars as parts of a whole, and to the narrative patterns traditional in Greek epics. Other sanctuaries claimed associations with Trojan War heroes through votive offerings, but none created so thorough a link with them as the Lindians did. Writers such as Pausanias, Strabo, and Plutarch preserve the stories: the temple of Athena at Phaselis, for example, claimed to have Achilles' spear (Paus. 3.3.8). Some of the donors have connections with Rhodes apart from the Chronicle – Helen, for instance, seems to have been worshipped as a tree goddess, according to a story preserved by Pausanias (3.19.10-11); others have associations with Athena beyond the island – in some versions of the story, Telephus' mother, Auge, was a priestess of the goddess at Tegea; still others appear in the list without any connection surviving in extant sources – Teucer and Meriones, for example.

Each entry in the inventory follows a clear pattern. The name of

¹⁸ Only entry VII, perhaps a votive from Rhesus, is too fragmentary to be reconstructed.

the donor is first, followed by his offering, with a form of the verb ἀνατίθημι assumed from the heading for section B. Then comes information about any votive inscription on the object, which is quoted. The entry concludes with a detailed list of the sources consulted. The offering of the minor Homeric warrior, Tlepolemus (VI), one of Heracles' sons, may be taken as characteristic¹⁹ (B37-41):

Τλαπόλεμος φιάλαν, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπεγέγραπτο·
 “Τλαπόλεμος Ἀθάναι Πολιάδι καὶ Διὶ Πολιεῖ
 εὐχάν”, ὥς φασι Γόργων ἐν τῇ Α τῶν περὶ
 Ῥόδου, Γοργοσθένης ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολᾷ,
 [Ἰ]ερόβουλος ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολᾷ.

Tlepolemus, a *phiale*. On which had been inscribed:
 “Tlepolemus to Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus,
 a votive,” as Gorgon reports in the first book of his work on
 Rhodes, Gorgosthenes in his letter,
 Hierobulus in his letter.

Tlepolemus was believed to have lived in Argos, where he killed a relative and had to flee his homeland, making his way to Rhodes. Our two lengthiest surviving versions of his story, the Homeric catalogue of ships²⁰ and Pindar's *Olympian* 7, differ in the details of his biography, but these are not matters which affect the Lindian Chronicle. Instead, the compilers quote the votive inscription which anachronistically identifies the divine recipients with the epithets Πολιάς and Πολιεύς.²¹

Compare the entry (IX) for Tlepolemus' soldiers (B54-61):

τοὶ μετὰ Τλαπολέμου εἰς Ἴλιο[ν στρατευσά-]
 μενοι ἀσπίδας ἐννῇ, ἐγχειρίδια [ἐννῇ, κυνᾶς]
 ἐννῇ, κναμίδων ζεύγη ἐννῇ· ἐ[πεγέγραπτο]
 δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων· “τοὶ μετ[ὰ Τλαπολέμου]
 εἰς Ἴλιον στρατευσάμενοι τ[ᾷ] Ἀθάναι τῇ
 Λινδίαι ἀκροθίνια τῶν ἐκ Τρο[ίας], ὥς φασι Γόρ-]

¹⁹ His name in both the compilers' section and the votive inscription itself is in the Doric rather than Homeric form (Τληπόλεμος); compare the entry for Menelaus (B62-63).

²⁰ Quoted and discussed below.

²¹ There is not much evidence for the worship of Athena as Athena Polias at Lindos until late in the third century BC (Blinkenberg, *Lindos* 2, inscr. 134.4) and for Zeus Polieus perhaps a century before (*ibid.* cols. 102-104). There is, of course, the much greater anachronism, the assumption that Homeric heroes lived in a literate world, since there is only one possible reference to writing in Homer, in Glaucus' story of Bellerophon (*Il.* 6.168-169).

γων ἐν τᾷ Α τᾶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γ[οργοσθένης]
ἐν τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ, Ἱερόβουλος [ἐν τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ].

The men making an expedition with Tlepolemus against Troy, nine shields, nine daggers, nine helmets, nine pairs of greaves. It had been inscribed on the shields, "The men making an expedition with Tlepolemus against Troy to Athena Lindia first-fruits, of those from Troy", as Gorgon states in the first book of his work on Rhodes, Gorgosthenes in his letter, Hierobulus in his letter.

Essentially the same information is given, in the same order, though the entry differs in some details: the donors are characterized as fighting at Troy and more information is contained in their inscription, notably that the armour was taken from the enemy and that the offering, made to Athena Lindia, is to be understood as ἀκροθίνια, not as Tlepolemus' εὐχάν.

Although it is not stated in the Lindian catalogue, the number of votives suggests that the compilers knew the Rhodian entry in the Homeric catalogue of ships (2.653-656):

Τληπόλεμος δ' Ἡρακλείδης ἡὺς τε μέγας τε
ἐκ Ῥόδου ἐννέα νῆας ἄγεν Ῥοδίων ἀγεράχων,
οἱ Ῥόδον ἀμφενέμοντο διὰ τρίχα κοσμηθέντες,
Λίνδον Ἰηλυσόν τε καὶ ἄργινόεντα Κάμειρον.

Tlepolemus, son of Heracles, both magnificent and great,
led nine ships from Rhodes of fine Rhodians,
who inhabited Rhodes, organized into three divisions,
Lindos, Ialysus, and white Camirus.

Although in the Trojan War as narrated by Homer, Athena Lindia and Rhodes do not have much of a part, Tlepolemus has one of the longest entries in the catalogue (2.653-670), a total of eighteen verses: his genealogical link with Heracles, the division of the island into three cities, and the sending of nine ships to Troy are mentioned, but the goddess Athena Lindia is not named in the entry. Otherwise, Tlepolemus appears only when he is killed in a duel with Sarpedon (5.628-669). Nothing more is told of the Rhodians in the war, but the Chronicle records their votive dedicated to Athena after their return, as we imagine from the wording of the entry and from the placement of the entry in the document. In contrast, although we do not know the story, the Lindians seem to have

believed that Tlepolemus made his offering before he departed for Troy, because they place his entry before those of warriors who return from the expedition.

The disappearance of the Rhodians from the Homeric narrative is just the sort of opportunity that local poets and historians like those cited in the Chronicle exploited very effectively. To do so, they drew on narrative patterns which had been used to create and recreate versions of the Trojan War appropriate for their own town, kingdom, and time. Once there was a standardized text of Homer, they risked the objection that their version did not match, but it is doubtful, judging from the tales told by Pausanias and others of local claims, that the Alexandrian editions had much effect. In any case, Homer's epics covered only a brief part of the entire expedition.

We can see in another entry how the details of a story may be adapted to fit local circumstances. Telephus (VIII), who is not mentioned at all in Homer, was an illegitimate son of Heracles who lived in Asia Minor and was wounded by Achilles in the first expedition to Troy. When the wound would not heal, Telephus sought help from Apollo and after his cure made this offering to Athena (B48-53):

[Τήλ]εφος φιάλαν χρυσόμφαλον, ἐφ' ᾧς ἐπεγέ-
[γρ]απτο· “Τήλεφος Ἀθάναι ἱλατή[ρι]ον, ὡς ὁ Λύκιος
Ἀπόλλων εἶπε.” περὶ τούτων ἱστ[ορ]εῖ Ξεναγόρας
ἐν τᾷ Α τὰς χρονικὰς συντάξις, Γόργων
ἐν τᾷ Α τὰν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργοσθένης ἐν τᾷ ἐ-
πιστολᾷ, Ἱερόβουλος ἐν τᾷ ἐπ[ιστολᾷ].

Telephus, a *phiale* with a golden boss. On which had been inscribed: “Telephus to Athena a supplicatory gift, as Lycian Apollo said”. About these things Xenagoras reports from his researches in the first book of his annalistic account, Gorgon in the first book of his work on Rhodes, Gorgosthenes in his letter, Hierobulus in his letter.

Like his half-brother Tlepolemus, Telephus offered a *phiale* to Athena, one characterized in the inscription as an ἱλατήριον,²² a gift prompted by Lycian Apollo. Other versions of Telephus' cure identified Apollo not as Lycian but as Delphian, but for Rhodians,

²² This seems to be a very rarely used word, though other forms of the root do occur both in Homer and inscriptions.

Lycian Apollo was conveniently nearby on the coast of Asia Minor²³ and his temple might even have been founded by an early Rhodian: according to at least one tradition, one of the Telchines, named Lycus, established the temple (Diod. Sic. 5.56.1). Indeed, Pausanias remarks (9.41.1) that the Lycians of Patara have on display in their temple of Apollo a bronze *krater* which they say was a votive offering (ἀνάθημα) from Telephus and the work of Hephaestus; perhaps this was Telephus' thank-offering to Apollo for revealing his cure. Pausanias, however, dismisses this *krater* as a forgery, which is one of the dangers of having an object to support such claims. At the other extreme is the danger of depending on oral tradition alone, as the Trojans of Strabo's time did.²⁴ The Lindians, desiring connections to the epic past, seem to have steered a middle course in making a link to Trojan War heroes and Athena by invoking documentary evidence.

After Telephus' entry come the five Trojan War votives of the Chronicle associated with the *nostoi*, and these illustrate two other ways to make connections with the past. Lindian poets, antiquarians, and historians drew on heroic narrative patterns and what might be called 'holes in Homer', places where objects or figures disappear from events. We have already seen one hole behind the entry of the Rhodians who fought at Troy with Tlepolemus: although they disappear from the story in Homer after *Iliad* 5 and the death of their leader, it is perfectly natural to assume that at least some of them returned home and made an offering to their goddess, Athena Lindia, in thanks for her protection.

A second way to make a connection is through narrative patterns which allowed ancient writers to move Homeric figures around the Mediterranean. The *nostoi* provided many possibilities for a returning Greek hero, who might suffer any number of adventures, then arrive home only to find an unfaithful and treacherous wife, might not get home at all, but die along the way, or might eventually return home safely.²⁵ One of the most useful patterns was the storm at sea, brought on by an angry god, which the poet could use to drive Greek ships in any direction, forcing them to land on nu-

²³ See J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), L34 for the sources.

²⁴ See note 15 above.

²⁵ See the stories of Agamemnon, Diomedes, Ajax, son of Oileus, and Menelaus, for example.

merous islands or coasts, encountering friends and foes in a variety of adventures. The Trojan War story is punctuated by four significant storms which provide points for subsidiary narratives to be developed, if desired. Paris is blown off-course when he brings Helen to Troy and driven to Sidon,²⁶ then after the first Greek expedition to retrieve Helen mistakenly sacks Teuthrania, a storm scatters the homecoming Greeks in all directions²⁷ – Achilles, in this version, lands on Scyrus, where he marries Deidamia and cures Telephus. When the Greeks gather a second time, Artemis kicks up winds which prevent them sailing from Aulis.²⁸ But the storm which has left the most traces of variant stories hits after the victorious Greeks depart from Troy and it may have provided a motive for the misfortunes of the returning heroes, as recorded in the *Odyssey*²⁹ and in Proclus' summary of the *Nostoi* (fr. 1).

This narrative pattern and the 'holes in Homer' may lie behind entries X-XIV in the Lindian Chronicle. They reflect alternative versions of the *nostoi* of Menelaus and entourage, and two heroes known for their fighting abilities, Meriones and Teucer, in order, we presume, to enable them to land on Rhodes. Whether these versions are known only in Lindian or Rhodian tradition or are more widely told is not possible to say: although Blinkenberg believed that entries X-XIV depended on the *Ilias Parva*, the fragments of that work which survive do not tell any story which overlaps with events as envisioned in the Lindian Chronicle.³⁰ The visits of the Homeric heroes to the island are not organically integrated into the narrative of the expedition nor into the early history of Lindos, at least as far as we can tell from the surviving evidence, but the important element from the Lindian perspective seems to have been the presence of the hero at the shrine of Athena, as the votive objects testify.

In the Chronicle, Menelaus (X) is recorded to have made these offerings (B62-69):

²⁶ See Hdt. 2.113.1 and *Cypria* fr. 1; compare *Cypria* fr. 10.

²⁷ See *Cypria* fr. 1 and *Ilias Parva* fr. 5.

²⁸ *Cypria* fr. 1; Eur. *IA* 87-88, 352; Aesch. *Ag.* 192ff.; Soph. *El.* 564. See also Paus. 8.28.4-5 and Livy 28.6 on the difficulties of sailing from Aulis.

²⁹ There are only brief references to it in our version; see Hermes' explanation to Calypso about the stranger she has ensnared (5.108-111).

³⁰ Nor does any other surviving text of the epic cycle overlap with the Chronicle.

Μενέλαος κυνᾶν, ἐφ' ᾧς ἐπεγέγρ[απτο·]
 “Μενέλας τὰν Ἀλεξάνδρου”, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ξεναγό-
 ρας ἐν τᾷ Α τᾶς χρ[ονικ]ᾶς συντ[άξις, Ἡγησίας]
 ἐν τῷ Ῥόδου ἐγκωμίῳ[ι, Ε]ϋδημος ἐν τ[ῷ] Λινδια-
 κῷ, Γόργων ἐν τᾷ Α τᾶ[ν] περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργοσθέ-
 νης ἐν τᾷ ἐπιστολαῖ, Ἱερόβουλος ἐν τᾷ ἐπισ-
 τολαῖ. Θεότιμος <δ> ἐλέγει ἐν τᾷ Α τὰν κατὰ Αἰε-
 λούρου ἀναθέμειν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγχειρίδιον.

Menelaus, a helmet. On which had been inscribed:
 “Menelaus, the [helmet] of Alexander”, as Xenagoras reports
 from his researches in the first book of his annalistic account, Hegesias
 in his encomium on Rhodes, Eudemus in his work on Lindos,
 Gorgon in the first book of his work on Rhodes, Gorgosthenes
 in his letter, Hierobulus in his letter.
 But Theotimus says in the first book of his work against Aielurus
 that he also dedicated a dagger.

Menelaus³¹ dedication commemorates his duel with Paris which
 was cut short by Aphrodite when the Greek hero was winning: after
 a prayer to Zeus, Menelaus grabbed Paris' helmet and would have
 won glory, as the poet says (*Il.* 3.373), had it not been for Aphrodite's
 quick thinking. She broke the strap and thus saved Paris' life.

What became of that helmet? Homer reports that Menelaus
 hurled it back among the Greeks (*Il.* 3.377-378) and there, as it is
 snatched up by Menelaus' warriors in the midst of battle, we lose
 sight of the helmet, until it resurfaces in the Chronicle. Its fate is not
 recorded in the surviving scholia, nor does any Greek author ever
 refer to it, but despite this, its dedication in the temple of Athena on
 Rhodes is entirely plausible, if one believed that Menelaus could
 have stopped there and if one had also seen other, similar votives.³²

A parallel for this 'hole in Homer' is the fate of Euphorbus' ar-

³¹ The compiler of the Chronicle has used the Homeric form of the hero's name – Μενέλαος – while the votive inscription which he quotes from various sources employs the Doric non-epic form for the hero – Μενέλας. This is not consistent with the entry for Tlepolemus (see above, note 19).

³² Someone could have seen, for example, the helmets dedicated to Zeus at Olympia, particularly the Greek helmet given by Miltiades or the Persian given by the Athenians (E. Kunze, “Eine Weihung des Miltiades”, in *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia* vol. 5, ed. id. [Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1956], 69-74); id., “Ein Bronzehelm aus der Perserbeute”, in *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia* vol. 7, ed. id. [Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1961], 129-137); or the Spartan shields from the battle of Pylos adorning the Stoa Poikile in Athens (J.McK. Camp, *The Athenian Agora* [London: Thames and Hudson, 1986], figs. 43-46). See also Paus. 3.3.8.

mour. When Euphorbus wounds Patroclus (*Il.* 16.806-815), he is killed by Menelaus, after a prayer to Zeus, in the fighting over Patroclus' body (17.45-60). Menelaus begins to strip the armour from Euphorbus, but Hector, inspired by Apollo, appears and it is unclear whether Menelaus has finished before he is chased off.³³ As with Paris' helmet, Euphorbus' armour disappears from the *Iliad*, but the shield later reappears in two temples from very different parts of the Greek world which claim to have it on display as an offering from Menelaus. Pausanias sees the shield in the Argive Heraion, although he does not speculate how it happened to survive the temple fire of 423 BC (2.17.3). From Diogenes Laertius, we learn that the temple of Apollo at Branchidae claimed to have the same shield, although there was little remaining to be seen, since it had all but rotted away (8.1.4-5).

The survival of these two incompatible stories about Menelaus' dedication of an enemy's shield illustrates both the power of narrative patterns and their flexibility in the hands of poets or antiquarians. Although no evidence other than these anecdotes about Euphorbus' shield links Menelaus to either the Argive Heraion or the temple of Apollo at Branchidae, it is easy to imagine that someone could adapt Menelaus' journey home to include scheduled or unscheduled stops at both places.

In the inscription as recorded by the Chronicle, no reason is given for Menelaus' dedication of Paris' helmet to Athena, though possible damage to the stone at this point means there may have been something more in the votive inscription.³⁴ Menelaus' prayer at the height of the duel was directed not to Athena, but to Zeus, as it was before the combat with Euphorbus. Although Paris blames his defeat on Menelaus working with Athena (3.439), the poet has not shown us any intervention by the goddess in the duel, but the Lindians may have drawn on Paris' accusation in creating this entry. Menelaus may also have dedicated the helmet to thank Athena for turning aside Pandarus' arrow (4.127-133) or because she calmed her anger and allowed Menelaus with his ships to reach Rhodes.

³³ See the Rhodian plate from Camirus c. 600 BC which illustrates the fight, with all three figures labelled (T.H. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece* [London: Thames and Hudson, 1991], fig. 311).

³⁴ Blinkenberg seems to have changed his mind about this, as in his earlier editions of the inscription (1912, 1915), he allows space for missing text, while in his 1941 edition he does not.

The entry concludes with what seems to be a scholarly footnote: it records that one historian says Menelaus also dedicated a dagger (B68-69). Although nothing more is made of this, the care of the compilers to note disagreements among their sources reveals something about the importance and thoroughness of their work.

Although the Lindians record a visit by Menelaus to their island, no stop on Rhodes by him is narrated in our *Odyssey*, which contains two reports of his homecoming, both given to Telemachus. Nestor tells Odysseus' son what he knows, then Menelaus tells his own adventures to his guest. Their accounts are complementary, as they cover different parts of his homecoming; Nestor reports on their journey home as far as Cape Malea,³⁵ where Zeus roused yet another storm which scattered Menelaus' fleet from Gortyn to Egypt. Menelaus tells his own story to Telemachus in *Odyssey* 4, reporting on his adventures further east. In Euripides' *Helen*, similarly Teucer reports briefly about the storm in which Menelaus and Helen disappeared (128ff.), then Menelaus tells his own story to Helen (394ff., 765ff.), but there is no mention of Rhodes in either Menelaus' or Teucer's journeys.

Teucer's difficulties after the Greek victory at Troy were a popular subject for Athenian playwrights of the fifth century, although none of the plays in which he was the central character survives. In Euripides' *Helen*, Teucer tells his fate: Telamon drove him from Salamis because he failed to bring home Ajax alive, so he was on his way to Cyprus where, according to Apollo, he was to found a new Salamis (83-96, 146-150). Teucer mentions no stop on Rhodes, but the Lindians could plausibly construct a storm or other misadventure which drove him to their island, just as they had created an offering from him to Athena Lindia (XIV), preserved in the Chronicle (B82-87):

[Τε]ῦκρος φαρέτρων, ἐφ' ᾧς ἐπεγέγραπτο· “Τεῦ[κρ]ος
[τάν] Πανδάρου”, ὡς ἰσ[τορεῖ] Ξ[ε]ναγόρας ἐν τῇ Α τᾷς [χρο-]
[νικ]ᾷς συντά[ξι]ος, Γόργ[ων] ἐν τῇ Α [τᾷ]ν [περὶ] Ῥό[δου],
[Γ]οργοσθένης ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολᾷ, Ἰερόβουλος ἐν
τῇ ἐπιστολᾷ. Θεότιμος δὲ [ἐν τῇ Α τᾷ]ν κατὰ Αἰε-
λούρου φατὶ ἀναθέμειν αὐτὸ[ν καὶ τό]ξον.

³⁵ Cape Malea was a place of disaster not only for Trojan War heroes: according to Herodotus, the Corcyraeans planned to explain away their failure to send help against Xerxes at Salamis by claiming that they had sent out sixty ships, but the winds at Cape Malea prevented them from sailing further (7.168.4).

Teucer, a quiver. On which had been inscribed: “Teucer, the [quiver] of Pandarus”, as Xenagoras reports from his researches in the first book of his annalistic account, Gorgon in the first book of his work on Rhodes, Gorgosthenes in his letter, Hierobulus in his letter. But Theotimus in the first book of his work against Aielurus states that he also dedicated a bow.

This entry cites a disagreement among sources, as we have seen in Menelaus’: both times, Theotimus records an additional votive.

Teucer’s gift of archery equipment to the goddess is appropriate because of his ability with the bow and because the quiver is taken from the enemy. Although we have no story surviving which links Teucer with Pandarus, we know that this Trojan ally was killed by Diomedes and that there was a fierce fight over his body (*Il.* 5.280-296). Whether the Greeks manage to capture his body and weapons at that point in the story is not reported, but somehow, according to Lindian tradition, they came into the hands of Teucer.³⁶ Perhaps, in some version, Pandarus’ weapons were a prize in the archery contest held as part of Patroclus’ funeral games, though in our *Iliad*, double-bladed and single-bladed axes were given as prizes (23.850-858). According to the poet, Teucer did not win the contest because he failed to promise an offering to Apollo (23.863-864). Meriones did offer such a prayer to the god (23.872-873).

Helen’s gift to Athena (XI) is not seemingly tied to any specific occasion or deed (B70-72):

‘Ελένα ψελίων ζεύγος, ἐφ’ ᾧν ἐπεγέγραπτο· “‘Ελένα
‘Αθήναι”, ὥς φασι Γόργων ἐν τᾷ Α τᾶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργο-
σθένης ἐ[ν] τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ, Ἱερόβουλος ἐν τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ.

Helen, a pair of bracelets. On which had been inscribed: “Helen to Athena”, as Gorgon reports in the first book of his work on Rhodes,
Gorgosthenes in his letter, Hierobulus in his letter.

Not only is the gift of a pair of bracelets colourless because they occur so frequently in temple inventories,³⁷ but the inscription is

³⁶ Compare Ampelius’ account of the treasures in the temple of Apollo at Sicyon, including “Teucris sagittae et arcus”, although these may not be the ones taken from Pandarus (*Liber Memorialis* 8.5).

³⁷ See D. Harris, *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion* (Oxford: Oxford Uni-

among the shortest possible, identifying only the donor³⁸ and recipient, without specifying either the occasion or the motive for the gift, whether a vow is being fulfilled or anything else.

Many sites across the Greek world seem to have wanted a connection with Helen, for various places have objects belonging to her on display in their temples: her necklace, together with that of Eriphyle, was at Delphi (Ath. 6.232e, Diod. Sic. 16.64.2) and her shoes, given by Menelaus to Athena at Iapygia (Lycoph. *Alex.* 853-855).³⁹ Although we usually associate Helen with Aphrodite, she does have some connection with Athena, even if it is only through the worship of the goddess in Sparta. In Euripides' *Helen* 227-228, the chorus tells her that no longer will she adorn the Χαλκίοικον and, in reply, Helen reminisces about the circumstances of her kidnapping (241-248): she was picking flowers to take to Athena.⁴⁰

The most famous of all Homeric figures is followed in the Lindos Chronicle by perhaps the most obscure (XII), one of Menelaus' helmsmen, Canopus (B73-77):

Κάνωπος ὁ [Μ]ενελάου κυβερνάτας οἶακας, ἐφ' ᾧ[ν]
ἐπεγέγρα[πτ]ο· “Κάνωπος τῷ Ἀθαναίῳ καὶ Ποτειδᾶνι”,
ὡς ἀποφα[ίνε]ται Ξεναγόρας ἐν τῷ Α τὰς χρονι-
κᾶς συντάξις, Γόργων ἐν τῷ Α τῶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργο-
σθένης ἐν τῷ ἐπιστολᾷ, Ἱερόβουλος ἐν τῷ ἐπιστολᾷ.

Canopus, the helmsman of Menelaus, steering-oars. On which had been inscribed: “Canopus to Athena and Poseidon”, as Xenagoras declares in the first book of his annalistic account, Gorgon in the first book of his work on Rhodes, Gorgosthenes in his letter, Hierobulus in his letter.

On Lindos, Canopus is recorded as having made an offering to both

versity Press, 1995), on the inventories of the Parthenon and Erechtheion. W.H.D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902) lists offerings on Delos, including a bracelet, and a gold bracelet in the shrine of Athena Cranaia (253 and notes 12, 16).

³⁸ The Doric forms rather than the Homeric occur in both the compiler's note and the votive inscription itself. See notes 19, 31 above.

³⁹ The productivity of narrative patterns in epic and the power of local traditions may be responsible for another story linking Helen to Rhodes. According to Pausanias, although the Spartans claim that both Helen and Menelaus were buried at the Menelaion, the Rhodians believe that Helen died on Rhodes, murdered by Tlepolemus' widow (3.19.10-11).

⁴⁰ The narrative pattern of kidnapping a girl while she picks flowers is a familiar one, as we recall from the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, but Helen is hardly equivalent to Persephone.

Athena and Poseidon, perhaps not just because he survived a storm and landed at Lindos, but also because Poseidon ruled the sea.⁴¹ Unmentioned in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, Canopus seems to have become a part of the Chronicle through a fusion of traditions about helmsmen, especially as helpers at sea, and *nostoi* geography. Herodotus refers several times to the Canopic mouth of the Nile (2.15.1, 17.4, 97.2) and reports that winds blew Menelaus and Helen to Egypt, to this site (2.113.1), but he does not explain why the site is named after Canopus. Hecataeus seems to have connected it with Menelaus' helmsman (*FGrH* 1 F308), but only later sources, such as, perhaps, Apollonius of Rhodes' *Canopus*, Dictys (6.4), and the *Diegesis* of Conon,⁴² report that the luckless helmsman died there, perhaps killed by serpents, so Menelaus erected a tomb to commemorate him.

Behind this entry in the Chronicle may lie both the power of graves, as we have seen in Hector's challenge to the Greeks, and the flexibility of narrative patterns. Because tombs were a common sight in the Homeric and historical Greek landscapes, it was natural for stories about burials to develop in response to certain kinds of terrain. In the Trojan War story, those at highest risk of death on land seem to be charioteers and on the sea helmsmen, as in addition to Canopus at least four helmsmen died in the sea journeys of the Trojan War. It seems to have been particularly hazardous to serve Menelaus, as he was recorded as having lost three. Canopus died and was buried in Egypt, while Nestor tells Telemachus of the death and burial of Phrontis, another of Menelaus' helmsmen, near Sunium (*Od.* 3.278-285). His is not a heroic death, but it is commemorated by burial.⁴³ Pausanias reports the death and burial of Menelaus' third helmsman, Cinadus, near a sanctuary of Athena

⁴¹ Athena and Poseidon are not worshipped jointly at Lindos, as they are elsewhere in the Greek world, but they both protect seafarers. See E. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica*. *BICS* Suppl. 57 (London: University of London Institute of Classical Studies, 1989), 36-43, also M. Detienne and J.-P. Vernant, *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society*, tr. J. Lloyd (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 242-243, on the link between these two gods and helmsmen.

⁴² See R.B. Egan, *The 'Diegesis' of Konon: a Commentary with an English Translation* (PhD University of Southern California, 1971), ch. 8. Strabo refers briefly to the tale (17.1.17 [C801]).

⁴³ The burial of Elpenor, oarsman to Odysseus, provides an apt parallel for Canopus, even though he dies not at sea but in a drunken fall at Circe's. Odysseus commemorates his helmsman with a tomb on the shore of the sea, crowned with the

established, he says, according to some, by Agamemnon (3.22.10). Although Pausanias draws no link between the sanctuary of Athena and the monument to Cinadus, perhaps there is something, given the parallel of Canopus in the Lindian Chronicle.

The last two Trojan War entries in the Lindian Chronicle are for warriors, Meriones and Teucer, who had competed against each other in the archery contest at the funeral games for Patroclus. We have already seen Teucer's entry. For Meriones (XIII) is recorded this gift (B78-81):

Μηριόνης φαρέτραν ἀργ[υ]ρέαν, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπεγέγραπτο·
 ["Μ]ηριόνης Μόλου υἱὸς ἀ[κρο]θίνια τῶν ἐκ Τροίας", ὥς
 [φ]ατι Γόργων ἐν τᾷ [Α τ]ᾷν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργοσθένης
 [ἐν] τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ, Ἱερόβουλος ἐν τᾷ ἐπιστολᾷ.

Meriones, a silver quiver. On which had been inscribed:
 "Meriones the son of Molus, first-fruits of those from Troy", as
 Gorgon reports in the first book of his work on Rhodes, Gorgosthenes
 in his letter, Hierobulus in his letter.

In Homer, Meriones is a second-string figure, charioteer and companion to Idomeneus, and his lower status may be implied in the fact that for him alone in the mythological votives is a patronymic recorded. He did compete in the archery contest at Patroclus' funeral games and, according to Eustathius, was identified by Stesichorus as one of those hidden in the Trojan horse (*Od.* 11.522, p. 1698). In Cretan tradition, both Meriones and Idomeneus survived the journey home and were buried at Knossos, in a tomb which later folk pointed to with pride (Diod. Sic. 5.79.4).⁴⁴

With Meriones and Teucer, the Chronicle of Lindos is finished with figures from the Trojan War, but proceeds on through Rhodian history, cataloguing another twenty-eight donors and votives. These include Amasis, cited as donor of a linen corslet with "Herodotus the Thurian" one of the sources (XXIX); a general of the Persian

oar he used to row to Troy (*Od.* 11.74-78). The effects of Elpenor's tomb and Canopus' votive are similar: both are remembered for their service in the Trojan War, though neither fought nor died heroically. See also Lycoph. *Alex.* 881-884, for a description of Mopsus' tomb: on the top of the mound, his fellow Argonauts placed his broken oar.

⁴⁴ See Plut., *Marc.*, 20.3, for a description of the temple of the Magnae Matres which was said to have been built by Cretans and contained weapons, some of which had been dedicated by Meriones and Odysseus.

king during the Persian Wars, who gave a suit of clothes (XXXII); Alexander the Great, who gave βουκέφαλα and armour (XXXVIII); and finally Philip V of Macedon, donor of armour (XLII). Then follow the three epiphanies of the goddess (D).⁴⁵

The Lindos Chronicle itself may be understood as part votive and part proclamation. Although the old temple has burnt down and the ancient votives have been destroyed, the Lindians proudly claim that Athena has had a sanctuary on that site from the arrival of Lindos himself: as Hegesitimus, the proposer of the decree, argues, the shrine was ἀρχαιότατόν τε καὶ ἐντιμότατον. This connection with Athena was made in part by exploiting 'holes in Homer', which were filled with visits of Homeric heroes to Lindos, usually on their return from Troy. Written evidence used by the Lindians recorded that these heroes made dedications to Athena Lindia, although the Homeric epics themselves do not preserve many instances of such. In the Chronicle are listed many gifts of armour to Athena, which is appropriate both to the victorious warrior and to the warlike goddess, but these offerings rarely seem to carry any more specific significance than that of war and cult.

Through these mythological votives, the Lindians show their link to the major events and heroes of the Greek past, especially the Trojan War. Homeric heroes fill the early part of the Chronicle because of the accidents of geography and history, narrative patterns which underlie Greek epic, and beliefs about worship of the gods. Although some of the donors to Athena Lindia, such as Helen, have connections with Rhodes other than that attested in the Chronicle, and others, like Auge or Heracles, are linked to Athena in different parts of Greece, many, like Teucer or Meriones, are not otherwise associated with either Rhodes or Athena in the surviving stories. This lack of any firm or detailed connection seems to have been overcome in the Lindian mind by the citation of written sources.

The Lindians basked in the reflected glory of their goddess, Athena Lindia, who was indisputably resident on their acropolis, as the inscription claimed in its introduction – διὰ τὰν τῶς θεοῦ ἐπιφάνειαν – and in the list of epiphanies which conclude it. The grand structures in the sanctuary and the votives on display in the

⁴⁵ The epiphanies, none of which involves Trojan War figures, illustrate the goddess's concern for Lindians; she appears to them unsummoned when they are in need.

temple might all be recent, but the *stèle* with the inventory, erected in the sanctuary by command of the authorizing decree, provided documentary evidence to all visitors of the venerable link between Athena and Lindos, as well as Lindos' role in history.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ I would like to thank Susan Deacy and Alexandra Villing, the organizers of the Oxford Athena Conference, as well as audiences at the University of Cincinnati and SUNY Buffalo, especially Susan Cole and Vance Watrous, for their comments. I would also like to thank Timothy W. Boyd, Gregory Nagy, Deborah Beck, Francesca Behr, and Albert Henrichs for their assistance. I am grateful to the National Museum, Copenhagen, Dept. of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities, for the illustration (inv. no. 7125). This paper is part of a larger project, a translation, commentary, and series of essays on the Lindian Chronicle.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ATHENA AND MINERVA: TWO FACES OF ONE GODDESS?

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1. *Introduction*

At some time between 300 and 250 BC, a Roman merchant visited the impressive and imposing sanctuary of Athena on the acropolis of Lindos and dedicated a statue, presumably of the goddess herself. Its base carries a bilingual inscription:¹

[L]u(cius) M<a>r(ac) Foli[os]
Menerva[i Lindiai]
Λεύκιος Μο[---] Ἀθανᾶ[ι Λινδαίαι].

For this Roman, as some two centuries later for another visitor of Lindos, the proconsul P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther,² Minerva is the Latin word for the Greek term Ἀθανᾶ, to the extent that the local epithet could be shared by both.

This, of course, should surprise no one: it was the usual way the ancients viewed their gods. Not long after the earlier dedication in Lindos, not long before 200 BC, another Roman, a certain Manius Vibius, dedicated a relief and an inscription in Iberian Tarraco (modern Tarragona) to Menerva,³ who perhaps had a sanctuary on a hill-top there, and whom at least some scholars understand as being an indigenous divinity,⁴ and in his excursus on the religion of

¹ C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos: Fouilles de l'acropole 1902-1914*, vol. 2. *Inscriptions* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1941), no. 92 = *ILLRP* 2 no. 245; dated after the forms of the Greek letters.

² *Ibid.*, no. 323 = *ILLRP* 2 no. 246.

³ G. Alföldy, "Die älteste römische Inschrift der iberischen Halbinsel", *ΣPE* 43 (1981), 1-12. Graftito on a block in the Torre de Minerva, M/ Vibio Menrva (= M' Vibius Minervae), dated between 218 and c. 200.

⁴ J.-L. Girard, "La place de Minerve dans la religion romaine au temps du principat", *ANRW* 2.17.1 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1981), 203-232, see 213 (with bibliography).

Gaul in the *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*, Caesar lists Minerva as one of the main divinities of the Gauls, after Mercurius, Apollo, Mars, and Jupiter.⁵ The attitude, after all, is as old as Herodotus, who regarded Isis as the Egyptian name of Demeter, Osiris of Dionysus.⁶

The corollary, at least in the case of Athena/Minerva, is the identity of iconography: from the late sixth century BC, when presumably Eastern Greek artists modelled a group of Heracles and an armed goddess whom most scholars agree to call Athena for the pediment of the temple of Mater Matuta on the Forum Boarium,⁷ through a large body of Etruscan mirrors, to the cult statues of the several sanctuaries of Minerva in the city of Rome,⁸ Minerva appears in the form of the Greek goddess with helmet, aegis, and shield, often armed with a spear – as she does on the relief from the tower of Tarragona, in a terracotta statue from her sanctuary in Lavinium, or in countless bronze statuettes from Roman Gaul.⁹ While word language thus differentiated between two vocabularies, pictorial language did not: as in most other cases, there was just the Greek idiom to depict the concept of Athena = Minerva. At least it is a likely and reasonable assumption that the Romans called the armed goddess on the pediment of Mater Matuta by her Latin and not by her Greek name – it cannot be proved, but there is a contemporary parallel in the black-figure vase with the introduction of Hephaestus into Olympus, dated to 580-570 BC; it has been found on the Forum Romanum close to the Volcanal and can thus be seen as the first proof of the equation of Hephaestus and Vulcanus.¹⁰

⁵ Caes. *B. Gall.* 6.17.1f.; Girard, “Minerve”, 213f.

⁶ See, e.g., F. Mora, *Religione e Religioni nelle Storie di Erodoto* (Milan: Jaca Book, 1986).

⁷ For the pediment group from the temple of Mater Matuta (excavations of S. Omobono), see F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario* (Rome: Quasar, 1988), 224-234, and for the ideological background, see T.J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome. Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 147f.

⁸ W. Schürmann, *Typologie und Bedeutung der stadtrömischen Minerva-Kultbilder*. *Rivista di Archeologia* Suppl. 2 (Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1985).

⁹ For the iconographical traditions, see G. Colonna, in *LIMC* 2 (1984), 1050-1074 s.v. Athena/Menrva, and F. Canciani, in *LIMC* 2 (1984), 1074-1109 s.v. Athena/Minerva.

¹⁰ F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano. Periodo Arcaico* (Rome: Quasar, 1983), 177 and fig. 48; Cornell, *Beginnings of Rome* 162f.

2. *The problems*

The historian of religion, though, is left with some questions. Two are most urgent: first, how this identification came about (which means both: where did Minerva originate, and: what were the characteristics that led to such an equation?) and, second, how this identification influenced the Italian cult of the goddess.

In the past, as we might surmise, scholars addressed mainly the question of the origins of Minerva. The answers covered all possible permutations – Etruscan origin, the predominant answer of the nineteenth century (since there is an Etruscan Menrva¹¹), Sabinian origin (Varro's answer, followed by some modern scholars¹²), origin in a Latin city outside Rome, Falerii with its close ties to Etruria being the preferred candidate,¹³ or common Latin origin of which the Roman cult was just one example (at least Falerii and Lavinium seemed to have an old cult of Minerva¹⁴). If the question as to the ways of the Greek influence was addressed at all, again the Etruscans were favoured as mediators. In the light of the archaeological finds of the recent decades, this can immediately be dismissed – archaic Rome was, in the words of Tim Cornell, “a vigorous independent community developing its own hellenising culture, and taking a full and direct part in the circulation of goods, people and ideas that transformed the western Mediterranean at this time”.¹⁵ There is no need for Etruscan mediation in the case of Minerva, as there is no need for such a mediation in the case of Vulcanus already alluded to.

¹¹ For the Etruscan Menrva, see A. Pfiffig, *Religio Etrusca* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1975), 255-258, who again argues for an Etruscan origin of the name, following C. de Simone, *Die griechischen Entlehnungen im Etruskischen*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1970), 111. For the earlier bibliography, see F. Altheim, in *RE* 15.2 (1932), 1774-1802 s.v. Minerva 1.

¹² Varro, *Ling.* 5.74; see G. Radke, *Die Götter Altitaliens* (2nd edn. Münster: Aschen-dorff, 1979), 218, again in id., *Zur Entwicklung der Gottesvorstellung und der Gottesverehrung in Rom* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987), 104-110; E. Simon, *Die Götter der Römer* (Munich: Hirmer, 1990), 168.

¹³ W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1911), 233f.; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1912), 253f. (Etruscan craftsmen as mediators between Falerii and Rome); Altheim, *RE* 15.2, 1785f.; with new arguments from linguistics H. Rix, “Rapporti onomastici fra il panteon etrusco e quello romano”, in *Gli Etruschi e Roma. Incontro di Studio in Onore di Massimo Pallotino* (Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1981), 104-126.

¹⁴ G. Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, tr. P. Krapp (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 304-306.

¹⁵ Cornell, *Beginnings of Rome*, 163.

As to the other answers, I do not think we really can decide. Most scholars seem to agree that the name Minerva contains an Indo-European root, **men-*, denoting spiritual power,¹⁶ thus partly validating Verrius Flaccus' connection with Latin *monere*¹⁷ and even Arnobius' fancy reconstruction of a hypothetical Meminerva, 'deity of memory'¹⁸ – this could argue in favour of a Latin origin. But since the time of Varro, etymologies in the history of religions have the fatal tendency to be circular, to prove what we wish them to prove – so I should not want to rely on them too much.¹⁹ And at any rate, other questions are more exciting: why the identification, and what could have been its consequences? Or rather: since we do not know anything about Minerva before she appears, in the sixth century, as Menerva in epigraphy²⁰ and, at about the same time, in the guise of Athena in art, the two questions collapse into one: what was the function of Italian Minerva, and how does that relate to Greek Athena? A systematic mustering of these functions might bring enlightenment.

3. *Functions of Minerva*

3.1 *Minerva and the state*

The best-known role of Minerva is the part she plays in the Capitoline triad: Jupiter, Juno and Minerva are the tutelary divinities and cultic representatives of Rome and all its municipalities. Although the Capitoline temple was constructed under the Etruscan kings, it seems far from certain that the triad reflects an Etruscan triad Tinia, Uni, Menrva.²¹ Such a triad is attested nowhere in Etruria: when Vitruvius and Servius cite *prudentes Etruscae disciplinae* for the

¹⁶ Thus e.g. G. Wissowa, in Roscher, *Lex.* 2 (1894-97), 2982f., s.v. Minerva; or the etymologies in Radke, *Götter*, and id., *Entwicklung*, or Rix, "Rapporti".

¹⁷ Festus, *Gloss. Lat.* 249.

¹⁸ Arn. *Adv. nat.* 3.31 ("nomen Minerva quasi quaedam Meminerva formatum est").

¹⁹ Nor did, in a surprising moment of common sense, K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1964), 164.

²⁰ Inscriptions of Veii and other places, see Radke, *Entwicklung*, 105.

²¹ For recent discussions, see Dumézil, *Roman Religion*, 306-308 (who again pleads for an, albeit unspecified, Etruscan origin); he is followed by J. Champeaux, *La religion romaine* (Paris: Librairie générale française, 1998), 64f.

fact that every town had to have three gates, three streets, and three temples, one of Jupiter, one of Juno, and one of Minerva,²² and that the altars of the same three divinities were constructed on the highest spot of the town, *in excelsissimo loco*,²³ they mean three independent cult places, not one place for a triad. Thus, we only learn that Tinia-Uni-Menrva seemed indispensable for an Etruscan city: all three were poliad gods. And even some advocates of an Etruscan origin tend to point to some (albeit rather elusive) Greek antecedents.²⁴ There is, furthermore, at least one other Latin parallel from outside Rome: in a dedication which the Faliscan emigrants to Sardinia set up to the same three divinities after the destruction of their town in 241 BC, they call them *summi imperatores*:²⁵ again, and this time in a non-Roman Latin city, Minerva is among the poliad gods.

In the case of Jupiter, the role as protector of the state might have good Indoeuropean antecedents and does not necessarily point to Greece as place of origin; though, as Latte pointed out, *optimus maximus* sounds like a translation of Homeric μέγιστε κύδιστε.²⁶ Minerva as a protectress of the city centre, on the other side, looks exactly like Athena Polias or Poliouchos whose cults tended to be established in the highest place of the town.²⁷ The role of Minerva in the Capitoline triad thus seems to have much to do with Greek Athena Polias, and it is tempting to think that this role had been taken over from Greece – not necessarily from Athens or any place on the Greek mainland, but more likely from Southern Italy, where several towns had their acropolis with a sanctuary of Athena, not the least Cumae. And at least the fact that the cult of Minerva arrived at a later date seems indisputable, since unlike Jupiter she has no *flamen*. Much later, at the *lectisternium* of 217 BC, it must have

²² Serv. *Aen.* 1.422.

²³ Vit. *De arch.* 1.7: “Iovi Iunoni Minervae in excelsissimo loco ... arae distribuuntur...”

²⁴ The cult of Zeus, Hera and Athena in the Phokikon, Paus. 10.5.2 – although here Roman influence cannot be excluded.

²⁵ *ILLRP* 1 no. 192, shortly after 241; see R. Wachter, *Altlateinische Inschriften. Sprachliche und epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den Dokumenten bis etwa 15 v. Chr.* (Berne and New York: P. Lang, 1987), 441-445.

²⁶ Latte, *Religionsgeschichte*, 151 – only to refute it then because at this time the Romans would not yet have known Homer (“schwerlich darf man daran denken, dass griechische Kultformeln um 500 v. Chr. in Rom bekannt waren”); but this is much more likely now, see above, note 15.

²⁷ See Latte, *Religionsgeschichte*, 151.

been Greek, if not Athenian, influence to account for the pairing of Minerva and Neptunus, the two divinities of the Athenian acropolis, on the same couch: the *lectisternium* was ordered by the Greek Sibylline Books.²⁸

The triad of Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, as we saw, is attested also for the Faliscans, and Minerva might have been even more important in Falerii than in Rome, coming even closer to the Greek role of Athena Polias. When discussing the epithet of Minerva Capta whose sanctuary on the slopes of the Celio was dedicated on March 19, Ovid derives the name, among other things, from the transfer of the cult after the conquest of Falerii:

Or had she this name because she came as a captive from conquered Falerii? This at least the old letters on the statue tell.²⁹

There is no good reason not to believe in the existence of this inscription, despite the fact that Ovid also gives three other rivalling derivations – from *capitale* in the sense of a creative nature (*ingenium sollers*³⁰), or from *caput* either because she was born from Jupiter's head,³¹ or because capital punishment awaited whoever stole something from her temple.³² And even though the story could have been made up much later, it still points to Minerva as the major poliad divinity of Falerii – either of Falerii Veteres, if the story attests a real cult transfer, or of Falerii Novi, if the story is more recent.³³ At any rate, Ovid could have good knowledge of Faliscan cults; after all, his third wife came from Falerii, a fact which inspired his elegy on the cult of Juno of Falerii.³⁴

²⁸ Livy 22.10.9, see C.R. Long, *The Twelve Gods of Greece and Rome* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), 235-239.

²⁹ Ov. *Fast.* 3.843f.: “an quia perdomitis ad nos captiva Faliscis / venit? et hoc signo littera prisca docet”.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 839f.: “capitale vocamus ingenium sollers: ingeniosa dea est”.

³¹ *Ibid.* 3.841: “an quia de capitis fertur sine matre paterni vertice cum clipeo prosiluisse suo?”

³² *Ibid.* 845f.: “an quod habet legem, capitis quae pendere poenas ex illo iubeat furta reperta loco?”

³³ J.-L. Girard, “Minerva Capta: Entre Rome et Faleries”, *Revue des Études Latines* 67 (1989), 163-169. For Minerva Capta, see also Th. Köves-Zulauf, “Minerva Capta: eine gefangene Göttin?”, in *Religio Graeco-Romana. Festschrift für Walter Pötscher*, ed. J. Dalfen, G. Petersmann, and F.F. Schwarz (Graz: Horn, 1993), 159-176.

³⁴ Ov. *Am.* 3.13.

3.2 *Minerva and young citizens*

The oldest Latin cult of Minerva we know more about than just a name is the one in the so-called Eastern Sanctuary of Lavinium (modern Pratica di Mare). The site has been excavated by Italian archaeologists under the direction of Ferdinando Castagnoli.³⁵ The spectacular finds generated a huge bibliography, among which the most helpful contributions come from Mario Torelli and Mario Fenelli respectively.³⁶ The sanctuary has been attributed to Minerva on the strength of the many terracotta statuettes of the goddess and of one larger statue of her, all dating to the fourth century BC, the main phase in the sanctuary's life.

The votive material from the same epoch illustrates the character of the cult performed in this sanctuary. The goddess has to do with women on the one hand, more precisely with girls' transitions from a prenuptial state to marriage and childbirth, and, on the other hand, though less visibly, with boys' transitions into manhood. Dominant in the material are the women: a series of beautiful terracotta statues of unveiled girls with short hair represents their prenuptial status, a second series of veiled young women with rich ornaments figures the married women (they often carry a dove which one is inclined to connect with Aphrodite); model chests may be bridal chests, as on some Locrian pinaces;³⁷ and anatomical votives in the shape of one or two breasts and of wombs as well as statuettes of swaddled babies point to the goal of ancient marriage, childbirth; a large number of loom weights underlines the importance of weaving as the emblematic occupation of ancient women (or, according to another interpretation, to dedications of items of female dress³⁸). The form and character of these votives is Italic –

³⁵ Reports: F. Castagnoli, *Lavinium 1. Topografia generale, fonti, e storia delle ricerche* (Rome: De Luca Editore, 1972); id., *Lavinium 2. Le tredici are* (Rome: De Luca Editore, 1975).

³⁶ M. Torelli, *Lavinio e Roma. Riti iniziatici e matrimonio tra archeologia e storia* (Rome: Quasar, 1984); M. Fenelli, "Culti a Lavinium. Le evidenze archeologiche", in *Anathema. Regime delle Offerte e Vita dei Santuari nel Mediterraneo Antico, Atti del convegno internazionale, 15-18 giugno 1989. Scienze dell'Antichità. Storia, Archeologia, Antropologia* 3/4 (1989/90), 487-505.

³⁷ C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Reading' Greek Culture. *Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 162.

³⁸ For the discussion see my *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome: Schweizerisches Institut in Rom, 1985), 69 note 3.

with the exception of the loom weights, they have no real parallels in Greek sanctuaries of Athena and other goddesses. The functions, though, might find parallels. Weaving leads immediately to Athena Ergane, who is attested, among other places, in Southern Italy by a statuette that shows Athena with a distaff,³⁹ but also to the Athenian *arrhephoroi* and one of their main ritual tasks, the first weaving of Athena's peplos;⁴⁰ if they rather should represent dedications of dress, as in the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, one might feel tempted to associate child-birth, as there.⁴¹ The *arrhephoroi* are an undisputed example of girls in transition who are connected with Athena,⁴² as are the Athenian ἀλητρίδες of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (613f.) and the Locrian maidens who do service in the sanctuary of Athena at Ilion (or, originally, as I still believe, in the Locrian sanctuary of Athena Ilias⁴³). In these Greek instances, we deal with only a few girls who represent their age group: thus, we do not deal with girls' transitions in an ethnological sense which would affect an entire age group, but with a transformation of this form under new social conditions in an aristocratic society. To judge from the richness of the deposit, the ritual in Lavinium concerned more than just the elite, although it must have been only members of the rich upper class to dedicate the impressive and beautiful nearly life-size terracottas. Another singularity for Athena would be the Lavinian emphasis on child-birth: the Greek maiden daughter of Zeus kept her distance from the messy business of having babies, as the myth of Hephaestus and the somewhat uncouth conception of Erichthonius clearly demonstrates.⁴⁴

³⁹ Terracotta, later fifth century, hinterland of Gela, *LIMC* 2 (1984), 962 s.v. Athena 54 (P. Demargne); see Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 214; for Athena Ergane as a particular East Greek phenomenon, see A.C. Villing, "Athena as Ergane and Promachos: The Iconography of Athena in Archaic East Greece", in *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence*, ed. N. Fisher and H. van Wees (London: Duckworth/Classical Press of Wales, 1998), 147-168.

⁴⁰ L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin: H. Keller, 1932), 11.

⁴¹ Eur. *IT* 1462-1466.

⁴² The literature is vast; I refer to C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions. Aspects of the Arkteia and of Age Representation in Attic Iconography* (Athens: Kardamitsa, 1988); ead., "Lire l'arkteia – lire les images, les textes, l'animalité", *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 16.2 (1990), 45-60.

⁴³ F. Graf, "Die lokrischen Mädchen", *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 2 (1978), 61-79 augh. R. Buxton, *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 250-270.

⁴⁴ The sources for Erichthonius in Preller-Robert, 198 note 2. – Needless to say

This emphasis could be more subtle than it might look at first. In Greece and Italy, actual childbirth belongs to the women's space which is kept separate from the space of the men's city (which at least in Italy encompassed large parts of the upper class house); any newborn human being has to be ritually transferred from one space into the other. The question thus arises whether in Lavinium Minerva would deal with what was going on in that non-public space as well, as did Juno Lucina or Artemis Lochia, thus transgressing a borderline which seems fundamental for Greek Athena: the goddess of the Greek polis, though interested in the young future citizens and in women's work, does not enter the space where women give birth. I am not sure, however, whether this radical difference really is there: the Lavinian votive material does not refer to the act of birth (with the doubtful exception of the dedication of dress), it rather refers to the more general possibility of giving birth – which we could connect with Athena as well: a protectress of women's transitions could naturally be asked to provide help with becoming a mother also.

Especially with becoming a mother of future citizens – whose transition into manhood she then protects again, as the statues from Lavinium show, and as a wealth of evidence from Greece also implies. And, more important perhaps, as even later the cult on the Roman Capitol shows: there, the boys used to dedicate their *toga praetexta* at the very moment when they received the adult man's *toga pura*. In Lavinium, the boys in transition are present through the votive terracotta statues of boys offering a toy (a ball, a rabbit) and often wearing a *bulla*, the sign of the yet untransformed boy which he dedicated to the Lares when he received the *toga virilis*,⁴⁵ but also through some veiled masculine heads that must belong to statues of young men sacrificing *capite velato*, performing after the transition a typical citizen's task.⁴⁶ Contrary to the girls and women, the boys and young men left virtually no trace in the rest of the votive material which is less expensive and less upper class. This might lead to the possibility that the sanctuary of Minerva at Lavinium had a double function: on the one hand, it received the dedications from

that I do not subscribe to the theories of a maternal Athena which are as old as K. Kerényi, *Die Jungfrau und Mutter der griechischen Religion. Eine Studie über Pallas Athene* (Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1952).

⁴⁵ Pers. Sat. 5.31; Ps.-Acro, ad Hor. Sat. 1.5.65.

⁴⁶ P. Pensabene, *Archeologia Laziale* 2 (1979), 218f.

the members of the upper class whose young women and men had undergone a transition rite in it; on the other hand, it received prayers, sacrifices, and dedications from the entire populace in the context of marriage and childbirth. This in turn tempts me to think that in fourth-century Lavinium, puberty rites of transition concerned only members of the upper class, regardless of their gender, while marriage and childbirth concerned all women, regardless their social class, which is not entirely different from some Archaic Greek townships.

In a passage the date of which is not quite clear, Lycophron (or his interpolator) narrates how Aeneas founded the sanctuary at Lavinium and deposited the Trojan ancestral divinities in it.⁴⁷ This myth underlines the central role the sanctuary plays in the political life, not unlike the sanctuary of Vesta in Rome: it goes together with the role the goddess played for the noble young men, the future political elite of the state. Strabo calls her even Athena Ilias,⁴⁸ and modern scholars are eager to repeat this epiclesis – quite erroneously; we have no reason to assume a Minerva Ilias for Lavinium.⁴⁹ But the notice nevertheless has its value: it confirms not only the connection with the girls' transitions as in the case of the Locrian Maidens, but points also to Southern Italy: in Siris, the sanctuary of Athena Ilias had a boy priest and housed fifty young men – when a coalition of Southern Italian towns conquered the city, they slaughtered both the boy priest and the young men who sought refuge at the image of the goddess.⁵⁰ Again, the context looks like boys' transition rites (boy priests seem another form of specialization growing out of this institution) – this might explain why the epiclesis was transferred from the Greek world to the Latin one.

The same complex finally, though in a slightly different perspective, might lie behind the often discussed images on a cist from Praeneste, whose central configuration depicts Minerva who touches with a sharp instrument the lips of a kneeling boyish Mars

⁴⁷ Lycoph. *Alex.* 1261f.: “δεΐμας δὲ σηκὸν Μυνδίαι Παλληνίδι | πατρῷι ἀγάλαματ' ἐγκατοικεῖ θεῶν”.

⁴⁸ Strabo 6.1.14 p. 624.

⁴⁹ See e. g. M. Sordi, “Lavinio, Roma e il Palladio”, in *Politica e religione nel primo scontro tra Roma e l'Oriente*. Contributi dell' Istituto di storia antica 8, ed. M. Sordi (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1982), 65-78; C. Cogrossi, “Atena Iliaca e il culto degli eroi”, *ibid.*, 79-98.

⁵⁰ Lycoph. *Alex.* 984-992; Strabo 6.1.14 p. 264; Just. *Epit.* 20.2.3f.

(MARIS); Mars is posed above a steaming vessel.⁵¹ Rather than a birth scene (the instrument remains unexplained), it figures (as Mario Torelli had explained) a scene in which Minerva puts the finishing touches upon a bronze statue of young Mars which just has been dipped into water in order to cool it. However, it cannot be just a scene of divine craftsmanship comparable to some Athenian vase paintings: Minerva's work is closely watched by an assembly of gods, from Jupiter (Iovos) to Juno, Mercurius (Mercuris), Hercules (Hercle), Apollo (Apolo), and finally Diana (Diana) and Fortuna: it must be the mythical birth of Mars in form of a bronze image. This again leads to the complex of young warriors whom we have most prominent in the Salii.

3.3 *Minerva and the crafts*

A third complex connected with Minerva, especially in Rome, is the world of the craftsmen. Minerva's main urban festival were the *Quinquatrus*, held from March 19 (according to Ovid her birthday and the day when the temple of Minerva Capta was dedicated) to March 23.⁵² Verrius Flaccus calls the festival *artificum dies*, 'Day of the craftsmen', in his calendar at Praeneste – and although the professors, scribes and doctors have a certain prominence in our record of the festival, participation of many other, less intellectual craftsmen is well attested.⁵³ And both in Rome and in other Italian towns Minerva is associated with several other craftsmen – cloth makers in Rome and Pompeii, potters in Pompeii, builders in Capua.⁵⁴ Again, there is no visible difference between the Roman and the Greek material which concerns Athena Ergane as the divinity of the wily and intelligent craftsmen.⁵⁵ Greek craftsmen – not the least potters and builders – were present already in pre-Republican Rome, as the ex-

⁵¹ The image in *LIMC* 2 (1984), 510 s.v. Ares/Mars 11, pl. 380 (E. Simon), with bibliography; add esp. F.H. Massa-Pairault, "De Préneste à Volsinii. Minerve, le fatum et la constitution de la société", *PP* 42 (1987), 200-235.

⁵² The testimonies in A. Degraffi (ed.), *Fasti Anni Numani et Iuliani*. Inscriptiones Italiae 13.2 (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato – Libreria dello Stato, 1963), ad March 19.

⁵³ See Wissowa, *Religion*, 253f.

⁵⁴ Schürmann, *Minerva-Kultbilder*, 49-61.

⁵⁵ In the well-known analysis of J.-P. Vernant and M. Detienne, *Les ruses de l'intelligence. La mêtis des grecs* (Paris: Flammarion, 1974).

cavations suggest: although the *Quinquatrus* seem to belong to an old stratum of Roman religion, we might wonder whether it had not been them to introduce this aspect into Roman worship. More precisely: early potters might have come from Euboean Cumae, later masons and sculptors from Eastern Greece in the wake of the Persian expansion: while we know nothing about Athena Ergane and the Euboeans, the goddess is attested in Eastern Greece, as she is in Athens.⁵⁶

Between Greece and Rome, however, we discern a change of emphasis. While the Greek Athena Ergane seems to be a minor manifestation of the goddess's power whose central function was firmly anchored in her role as a protectress of the polis, Polias, the Italian goddess of craftsmen had no specific epithet, and the *Quinquatrus* were among the most popular festivals of Rome: Minerva was more visible and more prominent as protectress of the craftsmen, while her political role was somewhat overshadowed – though not eclipsed – by the eminence of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, at least from the later Republic onwards, when our main testimonies set in. After all, we deal with a different society, well removed from the sixth and fifth century Greek democratic polis; in Rome, and especially in Imperial Rome, the political elite and the craftsmen are clearly separated from each other.

3.4 *Minerva and healing*

There is one function which might appear as specifically Roman: it is the healing Minerva, *Minerva Medica*, whose Roman sanctuary was on the Esquiline; we know the votive deposit which contains, typically enough, a wide array of anatomical votives.⁵⁷ Another popular sanctuary of her was near Piacenza: it might continue an indigenous Celtic cult; the Celtic dea Sulis, the goddess of the hot springs at Roman Bath, was identified with this healing Minerva.⁵⁸ There is no need to view *Minerva Medica* as transformation of the

⁵⁶ The file in Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 209-214.

⁵⁷ C. Martini, *Il deposito votivo del tempio di Minerva Medica* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1990).

⁵⁸ See E. Sauer, "An inscription from Northern Italy, the Roman temple complex in Bath, and Minerva as a healing goddess in Gallo-Roman religion", *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 15 (1996), 63-93.

Athenian Athena Hygieia, not the least because this epicleris seems an Athenian specialization, against a more common cult of Hygieia as an independent divinity. But the cult might have arisen out of her function as protectress of the young and the women, as we have seen at Lavinium, or as specialization of one of the crafts with which Minerva was connected anyway. And even if there should be a connection with Athena Hygieia, there again is a shift in emphasis: while Athena is the static protector of health, Hygieia, Minerva has become the actively healing doctor, *medica*.

4. Conclusion

This overview of the evidence enhances the paradox to which we are exposed. In iconography, myth, and ritual function, Minerva is inseparable from Greek Athena; she is, in a way, Greek Athena. The few differences between Rome and Greece can all be viewed as developments in another place, another time, and another society. But differently from other Greek gods which have been taken over into the Roman pantheon, like Apollo, the Italian name is radically different from the Greek one: there is no easy way from the one to the other. Thus, there must have been an Italian (Latin, Etruscan) divinity bearing that name who entered the Roman pantheon from outside. But any trace of this divinity has been obliterated by the Romans' identification with Greek Athena – an identification which goes back to the Archaic age. This identification was, in part, the work of itinerant Greek craftsmen working in Rome, but also of the Romans themselves who accepted at an early date Athena Polias on their Capitol. As a consequence, any major difference from Athena which might have existed in early Roman religion disappeared from the later image of Minerva. This also means that there is no single local Greek cult which transformed Minerva; 'Greek Athena' is, after all, an abstraction from the many different forms the goddess Athena had in the single poleis of the Greek world. But this is exactly what one would expect after centuries of intense but diffuse cultural contact.

PART TWO

ARTISTIC REPRESENTATIONS

CHAPTER EIGHT

ATHENA IN ARCHAIC CORINTH: THE CREATION OF AN ICONOGRAPHY

Stefan Ritter

Athena is commonly considered the dominant city-protecting deity in the Greek world: the civic deity par excellence. However, there are also cities in which she may have played a different role, and one such city is ancient Corinth where it appears as if she has almost ‘swapped’ roles with Aphrodite. The recognition of this potentially different role distribution challenges the traditional, Athens-based system of interpreting the iconography of the two goddesses in Corinthian art. This chapter addresses the topical issue of the identification of the helmeted female head on Corinthian coins in the light of the development of the helmet as a distinctive attribute in Archaic Corinthian and Attic art. In spite of some justifiable doubts as to the validity of Athenian iconography as a universal model of explanation, the weight of evidence ultimately suggests that the helmeted goddess of Corinthian coinage cannot be any deity other than Athena.

Athena in Corinthian coinage: the state of discussion

Athena’s head on the reverse of the staters of Corinth is one of the most famous types in Greek coinage (Pl. 3a). Athena is wearing the so-called Corinthian helmet which is placed on the top of her head in order not to cover her face. This motif became very popular in representations of Athena in Classical times but it was new when Athena’s head was added to the reverse of the Corinthian staters at the end of the sixth century BC.¹ This fact gives reason to ask why

¹ For the introduction of the type between 515 and 500 BC, see C.M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London: Methuen & Co, 1976), 80-82, figs. 225, 226; J.H. Kroll and N.M. Waggoner, “Dating the earliest coins of Athens, Corinth and

Athena was represented in such an unusual way in Corinthian coinage.

In examining the iconography of Athena on Athenian and Corinthian coins,² I came to realise that the identification of the Corinthian goddess as Athena is less accepted than the literature concerning these coins would lead one to believe. Until recently, doubts had been expressed only by F. Lenormant in 1866 arguing in favour of Aphrodite who would appear armed in her role as the ‘divinité principale’ of Corinth.³ But the general belief in an identification as Athena had not really been shaken – at least in literature – until P.E. Blomberg dealt extensively with the question in 1996.⁴ In his monograph on Pegasus and the female head on Corinthian coins, the author discussed the cults of Athena and Aphrodite as well as the iconography of both deities in Corinth in detail and came to the conclusion that the helmeted goddess could only be Aphrodite. He argues that, in order to represent their city in coinage, the Corinthians would hardly have chosen Athena, who did not play an important role in Corinth, but their own patron goddess. He considers an identification as Aphrodite supported also by iconographical evidence. In his view, the coins not only clearly accentuate the beauty of the goddess – supposedly as such an argument in favour of Aphrodite – but he also takes the Corinthian helmet to be a distinctive feature of Corinthian Aphrodite. He argues that at Corinth, in contrast to Athens, the helmet would not have been the usual attribute of Athena but of Aphrodite, who, being known as *hoplismene* (‘armed’; but see discussion below), would normally have been represented armed and helmeted here.

Aegina”, *AJA* 88 (1984), 333-335; R. Calciati, *Pegasi* (Mortara: Edizioni I.P., 1990), 143, 144, 146, 147, 160-165 nos. 40-60 (= periodo secondo, prima classe, after c. 515 BC).

² I am dealing with the question of how far the iconography of Athena in Greek coinage of the fifth and fourth centuries was influenced by Athens and Corinth in my Habilitation project, *Bildkontakte. Götter und Heroen auf griechischen Münzen und Urkundenreliefs des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.*

³ F. Lenormant, “Vénus armée sur les monnaies de Corinthe”, *RN* 11 (1866), 73-77. This theory was rejected by F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (London: R. Clay and Sons, 1887) (= repr. from *JHS* 1885, 1886, 1887), 26-27.

⁴ P.E. Blomberg, *On Corinthian Iconography. The bridled winged horse and the helmeted female head in the sixth century BC*. Boreas 25 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1996), 67-99.

The attractiveness of the identification as Aphrodite⁵ is due to the fact that it seems to give a plausible solution for several problems which are regarded as not sufficiently solved by the traditional interpretation. Blomberg's contribution has revealed that some fundamental questions which are connected with the identification of the goddess on the Corinthian coins have not been answered until now – the question, for example, of whether every polis had a 'main' deity who had to appear in its coinage, and the question of the degree to which the use of attributes for deities was standardized in Greek art in Archaic times. With regard to Athena, scholars tend increasingly to criticise the traditional tendency to take Athens as the model, and have begun to point out that Athena's role in other Greek poleis could be very different from that in Athens, whose religion, politics and art have formed our idea of the goddess.⁶ In this context, it is reasonable to ask whether the iconographical standards which we are used to take from Athenian representations of Athena were generally valid in Greek art. The doubts as to whether the goddess on the Corinthian coins is really Athena touch upon the general problem of whether, and to what degree, specific functions of Athena influenced her iconography in Archaic and Classical times.

There is therefore good reason to reconsider Athena's iconography in Archaic Corinth. I will deal with four questions here. Firstly, are there any indications that the helmet, in contrast to Athenian art, was not used as Athena's attribute in Archaic Corinth? Secondly, how valid are the other arguments which have been put forward in favour of Aphrodite? Thirdly, why would Athena have been chosen to represent Corinth in coinage? And finally, how can the choice of the unusual helmet motif be explained?

⁵ Very recently, the identification as Aphrodite has been accepted by B. Fehr in his review of Blomberg's monograph in *Gnomon* 72 (2000), 84-85 (as "lectio difficilior").

⁶ See, for example, A.C. Villing, "Aspects of Athena in the Greek Polis: Sparta and Corinth", in *What is a God? Studies in the Nature of Greek Divinity*, ed. A.B. Lloyd (London: Duckworth/Classical Press of Wales, 1997), 81-100, who pointed to the particularities of Athena's role, cult, and iconography in Sparta and Corinth in contrast to Athens. Cf. also the recent discussion of the question whether the predominant role of Athena as the 'main goddess' in Athens can be generalized and regarded as a model for other Greek *poleis* (see below).

Athena in Corinthian and Athenian art of the sixth century BC

The main objection against the identification as Aphrodite is an iconographical one. In Greek art of Classical and Hellenistic times, the helmet, independently of its form, was the distinctive attribute of Athena. Is there any indication that the helmet did *not* have this meaning in Corinth at the end of the sixth century?

The assumption that there were significant differences between Athens and Corinth in representing Athena is based on the observation that Athena appears without helmet in most of her representations in Archaic Corinthian art. Indeed, in representations of Heracles fighting the Hydra, which allow comparison between Athena's iconography in Athenian and Corinthian art in the same narrative context, Athena is not armed on Corinthian vases while she appears armed on Athenian ones.⁷ Athena normally appears bareheaded also in those Archaic Corinthian representations where her identity is certain because of an inscription.⁸ These observations led Blomberg to the conclusion that the helmet, in contrast to Athena's iconography in Athens, was not a common attribute of Athena in Archaic Corinth.⁹

But the impression that the Corinthian iconography of Athena differed from the Athenian one arises only if one regards the period from the late seventh to the end of the sixth century as a whole; it vanishes if one brings the Athenian and Corinthian representations in chronological order before comparing them.

Most of the Corinthian vases and pinakes on which Athena, identified by an inscription and/or the narrative context, appears bareheaded date to the late seventh and early sixth century.¹⁰ But at this early time, it was also unusual to show Athena armed in Athenian art. In Athens, the helmet became the usual attribute of Athena only in the 560s, and the few Athenian representations

⁷ Cf. G. Kokkorou-Alewras, in *LMC* 5 (1990), 43 s.v. Herakles; Blomberg, *Corinthian Iconography*, 74-75 nos. 8-14 with note 326, p. 98.

⁸ Blomberg, *Corinthian Iconography*, 73-76.

⁹ *ibid.*, 76, 96, 98.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, 74-75 nos. 1, 6, 8-14, referring to the representations of Athena listed by D.A. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 619-620. Of the other representations, nos. 2 (see below) and 5 (see below) are Late Corinthian, and in the case of nos. 3, 4 and 7, Blomberg doubted whether the goddess is Athena.

which are earlier show her without helmet.¹¹ Therefore, it is absolutely clear that the representations of Athena assisting Heracles against the Hydra are not suitable to indicate any differences concerning the helmet because almost all Corinthian vases having Athena bareheaded in this scene date back to the time before 570/60¹² whereas almost all Athenian vases showing her helmeted were made afterwards.¹³ Warning against the assumption that Athena's iconography on the earlier Corinthian vases differed significantly from her iconography in Athens, is, for example, the fact that in some Corinthian representations of Heracles fighting the Hydra – as on an aryballos once in Breslau (Pl. 3c),¹⁴ or an aryballos in Basel,¹⁵ from about 600 – the goddess, without helmet or any other attributes, is identified not only by an inscription but also by an owl sitting on the bridles of the horses of her chariot – i.e. by the same animal which is sufficiently known as her companion from Athens.¹⁶ It is also noteworthy in this context that Athena appears as protectress of Heracles in these representations, i.e. in exactly the same role that she played later in Athens.

However, for our investigation only those Corinthian representations which were created *after* the helmet had started being used as a common attribute of Athena in Athens are relevant. For the helmetless Athena, identified by an inscription, on a Late Corinthian

¹¹ Cf. H.A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1989), 37–38. For the introduction and development of the Attic helmet in Attic vase-painting, see S. Ritter, "Athenas Helme. Zur Ikonographie der Athena in der klassischen Bildkunst Athens", *JDAI* 112 (1997), 21–24 (with further literature).

¹² Cf. *LIMC* 5 (1990), 35–36 s.v. Herakles 1990–1995, pls. 52, 53 (G. Kokkorou-Alewas). See also the instructive list given by P. Amandry and D.A. Amyx, "Héraclès et l'Hydre de Lerne dans la céramique Corinthienne", *Antike Kunst* 25 (1982), 102, where all 13 Corinthian representations of Heracles fighting the Hydra, listed in chronological order, are dated between 630 and 570 BC.

¹³ Cf. *LIMC* 5 (1990), 36 s.v. Herakles 1996–2006, pls. 53, 54 (all after 570 BC) (G. Kokkorou-Alewas). The theme became popular in Athens only at about this time, cf. M.S. Venit, "Herakles and the Hydra in Athens in the first half of the Sixth Century BC", *Hesp.* 58 (1989), 99–113.

¹⁴ Once Breslau (from Aegina): F. Lorber, *Inschriften auf korinthischen Vasen. Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur korinthischen Vasenmalerei im 7. und 6. Jh. v. Chr.* Archäologische Forschungen 6 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1979), 19–20 no. 17, fig. 15; Amandry and Amyx, "Héraclès", 102, 106–113 no. 4, fig. 1.4; *LIMC* 5 (1990), 35 s.v. Herakles 1991 with fig. (c. 600 – 595 BC) (G. Kokkorou-Alewas).

¹⁵ Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 425: Amandry and Amyx, "Héraclès", 102–116 no. 6, fig. 3.6, pl. 19.1,2; *LIMC* 5 (1990), 35 s.v. Herakles 1992, pl. 52 (c. 590 BC) (G. Kokkorou-Alewas).

¹⁶ For the role of the owl, see below.

pinax in Berlin from about 560,¹⁷ parallels can easily be found in contemporary Attic vase-painting, where at this time the helmet had not yet become a common attribute of Athena either.¹⁸ Others of the very few Late Corinthian representations of Athena are so evidently dependent on Athenian models that any significant difference is out of the question. Thus, on a Late Corinthian krater-fragment from Delphi (Pl. 4a),¹⁹ Athena – identified by an inscription – wears the same cap-like helmet with high crest which became standard for her on Panathenaic Prize-amphorae and other Attic vases in the 560s (Pl. 4b).²⁰ A Late Corinthian pinax-fragment from the Athenian Acropolis (Pl. 5a)²¹ shows Athena's birth in exactly the same manner as do contemporary Attic representations which evidently were taken as a model; the head of the armed goddess is not preserved but there is no reason to assume that it looked different from Athenian representations of the scene where she is always depicted wearing a helmet (Pl. 5b).²²

There are clearly two phases to distinguish both in Athens and Corinth. Before the 560s, Athena was normally made identifiable by inscription and/or the narrative context, while after this point she began to be characterised by helmet, aegis and weapons in Athens as well as in Corinth. It would therefore be misleading to accept, as Blomberg did, only those representations which have inscription *and* helmet as evidence for the helmeted Athena in Corinth;²³ it is far more in accordance with the iconographical de-

¹⁷ Berlin, Staatl. Mus. F 764: Lorber, *Inschriften*, 76 no. 119, pl. 33; Blomberg, *Corinthian Iconography*, 74 no. 5.

¹⁸ For example, in representations of the Judgement of Paris where Athena still appears without attributes but where her presence results from the narrative context; cf. *LIMC* 2 (1984), 958 s.v. Athena 10, pl. 703 (c. 560 BC) (P. Demargne).

¹⁹ Delphi, Museum: Lorber, *Inschriften*, 58 no. 84, pl. 18; Blomberg, *Corinthian Iconography*, 75 no. C.

²⁰ The cap with high crest which Athena wears since the 560s is an early form of the Attic helmet which became standard from the 530s, see Ritter, "Athenas Helme", 22-23.

²¹ Athens, Acropolis Museum 2578: *LIMC* 2 (1984), 986 s.v. Athena 343, pl. 743 (H. Cassimatis); see also C. Wagner in this volume, p. 100. Whereas H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia. A study of Corinthian art in the Archaic period* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), 142, supposed that "the helmet and spear may safely be conjectured", Blomberg, *Corinthian Iconography*, 74 no. 2, did not accept the representation because Athena's head is lost.

²² For comparable Attic representations, see *LIMC* 2 (1984), 986-987 s.v. Athena 345-354 with pls. 743-745 (all dated 570 – 540 BC) (H. Cassimatis).

²³ Blomberg, *Corinthian Iconography*, 75 accepted only those representations as evi-

velopment to look for inscription *or* helmet. The fact that among the preserved Corinthian representations there are only a few which show Athena with helmet is simply due to the fact that, at about the time when the helmet appeared, Athens had taken over the leading role in Greek vase-production whereas Corinthian production was in decline. At that time, Corinthian vase-painters followed Attic models which dominated the market,²⁴ and the close similarities between the Late Corinthian and contemporary Attic representations of Athena are therefore much easier to understand than differences would be.

There is absolutely no evidence from Archaic Corinthian art that the helmet, deviating from Athenian art, was not used as Athena's attribute when the head of the helmeted goddess was introduced in Corinthian coinage at the end of the sixth century (Pl. 3a).

Aphrodite

In contrast to Athena, there are no representations of Aphrodite with helmet in Archaic Corinthian art.²⁵ The only clue on which the opposite assumption has been based is Pausanias' famous reference to a statue showing Aphrodite ὀπλισμένη ('armed') in her temple on Acrocorinth: "On the summit of the Acrocorinthus is a temple of Aphrodite. The images are Aphrodite armed (ὀπλισμένη), Helios, and Eros with a bow".²⁶

This passage has generated much controversial discussion.²⁷ The

dence for the helmeted Athena where she is identified by inscription but not those where her identity is certain because of specific attributes. Thus, he excluded a pinax from Penteskouphia (Berlin F 801B; *ibid.*, 75 no. B) on which the helmeted goddess is without any doubt Athena because of the aegis.

²⁴ For the direct influence of Athenian on Corinthian vase-painting around the middle of the sixth century, see H. v. Steuben, *Frühe Sagen Darstellungen in Korinth und Athen* (Berlin: B. Hessling, 1968), 78.

²⁵ Blomberg, *Corinthian Iconography*, 85, concluded that "we must reconstruct her iconography as far as we can..."

²⁶ Paus. 2.5.1: 'Ανελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης· ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτὴ τε ὀπλισμένη καὶ Ἥλιος καὶ Ἔρως ἔχων τόξον... (Engl. transl. W.H.S. Jones, 1918). Cf. J. Flemberg, *Venus Armata. Studien zur bewaffneten Aphrodite in der griechisch-römischen Kunst*. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 8.10 (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen, 1991), 34 no. T 23, 40-41, 114.

²⁷ See A. Delivorrias, in *LIMC* 2 (1984), 71-72 s.v. Aphrodite 642 (with bibliography).

problem is that we neither know to which kind of statue Pausanias referred nor what the expression *hoplismene* precisely means. As for the statue, there are two possibilities. Either Pausanias was referring to the famous cult statue which stood in the temple in his time and, according to Roman Imperial coins of Corinth, showed the goddess half-nude, holding a shield which she is using as a mirror – but without helmet –, ²⁸ i.e. in the ‘Capua’ type going back to an original of the second half of the fourth century BC, ²⁹ or, because “to call such a figure ‘armed’ would surely be far-fetched”, ³⁰ Pausanias saw a very old cult image which truly showed the goddess armed; this assumption, proposed by A. Furtwängler and widely accepted, seems to be supported by the fact that in the two other cases where Pausanias uses *hoplismene* for Aphrodite, the images are called *xoana*. ³¹ But this interpretation raises several problems. Firstly, it does not seem very probable that there would have been two cult images in the temple in the second century AD – an ancient one about which we do not know anything, and a later one well attested by the Roman coins ³² – as it would be difficult to understand why Pausanias ignored the later statue for which Corinth was so famous in his time. Secondly, one would have to wonder why it is only in this case that Pausanias does not use the word *xoanon* to point to the antiquity of the statue; we would particularly expect such a hint here because the Eros mentioned by him was no doubt a much later work, ³³ and would have contrasted sharply with an old idol of Aphrodite. Thirdly, Furtwängler’s explanation that the old image of armed Aphrodite would have been modified in the fourth century BC because it had become “unintelligible to a younger generation” ³⁴ is not very convincing because the shield, regarded by him as

²⁸ Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary*, 25-27 no. 33, pls. G 121-134 and FF 16; *LIMC* 2 (1984), 73 s.v. Aphrodite 636-638, 640-641, pl. 62 (A. Delivorrias).

²⁹ For the reconstruction of the original of the Capuan Aphrodite, see A. Delivorrias, in *LIMC* 2 (1984), 71-73 s.v. Aphrodite 627-642, pls. 61, 62.

³⁰ A. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, tr. E. Sellers (London: William Heinemann, 1895), 388-389; Flemberg, *Venus Armata*, 40-41.

³¹ Paus. 3.23.1 (Kythera), cf. Flemberg, *Venus Armata*, 29 no. T 2; Paus. 3.15.10 (Laconia), cf. Flemberg, *Venus Armata*, 29 no. T 3.

³² This supposition of Furtwängler has already been questioned by M.E.C. Soles, *Aphrodite at Corinth: A Study of the Sculptural Types* (PhD Yale University, Ann Arbor, 1976), 42.

³³ Cf. A. Delivorrias, in *LIMC* 2 (1984), 71-72 s.v. Aphrodite (with lit.).

³⁴ Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, 388.

“a survival of the old tradition of an armed image”, is obviously not Aphrodite’s own and would have completely changed its significance. And fourthly, the expression *hoplismene*, not attested for Aphrodite before Pausanias, seems to be late and was clearly not an ancient epithet of her in Corinth.³⁵ It is far more probable that Pausanias simply referred to the iconography of the famous cult statue as she appears on the Roman coins and used *hoplismene* in this case to indicate the fact that the goddess was holding a shield.³⁶ But even if there really was a *xoanon* showing her armed on Acrocorinth, it would be impossible to say what it looked like and whether the goddess was helmeted. J. Flemberg has pointed out that the – probably wooden – Archaic or still Geometric images which were still to be seen in some Greek sanctuaries in Pausanias’ time are only attested in written sources and cannot be connected with preserved representations in order to reconstruct their iconography.³⁷ But regardless of what Pausanias saw, his reference can hardly be used as evidence for an ancient and continuing tradition of an armed Aphrodite in Corinth because this warlike goddess would have had a completely different function than the later goddess of love looking at herself in Ares’ shield.³⁸

Equally, the fact that Aphrodite sometimes appears armed in Greek, and especially in Roman, art³⁹ can hardly be used as an argument in the case of the Corinthian coins. The warlike character of Aphrodite did not play an important role in Greece.⁴⁰ Apart from

³⁵ See Blomberg, *Corinthian Iconography*, 82, 93.

³⁶ It is somewhat surprising that Blomberg does not take seriously Pausanias’ reference to Aphrodite *hoplismene* as evidence in favour of his theory. He accepts that Pausanias refers to the later statue which he regards as a Roman work made after the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC (71, 83), concurs with the view that Aphrodite *hoplismene* “most likely was not helmeted” (71) and admits that “the relevance of the information given by him [Pausanias] for the pre-Roman period is problematic... It is... not likely that ὀπλισμένη was the epithet for Aphrodite on the coins” (93); but it is hardly possible to reconstruct the iconography of Aphrodite in Archaic Corinth on the basis of Pausanias’ reference, the only possible evidence for an older image, without interpreting it in Furtwängler’s sense.

³⁷ Flemberg, *Venus Armata*, 23 (“Die Quellen erlauben keine Schlüsse auf irgendwelche ikonographischen Merkmale der ‘politischen’ Aphrodite...”), 36-37.

³⁸ Blomberg, *Corinthian Iconography*, 82, following Furtwängler, regards the ‘protective aspect’ of Aphrodite as the basis of an old cult tradition. But he ignores the problem that the Late Classical statue to which, in his opinion, Pausanias refers, is based on a different conception of Aphrodite.

³⁹ Blomberg, *Corinthian Iconography*, 90-93, 99.

⁴⁰ Flemberg, *Venus Armata*, 17.

some exceptional Etruscan statuettes,⁴¹ almost all representations of Aphrodite showing her as armed are found either in gigantomachies, or in a context in which her armour has to be related to her role as the wife of Ares.⁴² The question is not whether, in a specific context, as in gigantomachies, Aphrodite could *also* appear armed as other goddesses did, but whether the helmet was used as her characteristic attribute. However, in almost all representations where Aphrodite appears armed she is not helmeted.⁴³ Especially at Corinth, as we have seen earlier, there is absolutely no evidence that Aphrodite, differing from her usual iconography in Greek art, was normally represented helmeted in Archaic times – in contrast to Athena, as whose particular attribute the helmet was used in Greek art already before she started to be represented in full armour in Athens in the 560s.⁴⁴

Unlike the helmet, the other iconographical details of the head on the Corinthian coins, which have been taken as arguments in favour of Aphrodite,⁴⁵ are not distinctive features of any particular goddess. The necklace is an accessory that every goddess could be

⁴¹ The only possible evidence for a helmeted Aphrodite is given by two statuettes, found in a sanctuary in Gravisca, which show an armed goddess wearing a closed helmet over her face; see M. Torelli, "Il santuario greco di Gravisca", *PP* 32 (1977), 433 fig. 11 (dating them soon after 600 BC); Blomberg, *Corinthian Iconography*, 90; I. Solima, "Era, Artemide e Afrodite in Magna Grecia e in Grecia. Dee armate o dee belliche?", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 110.1 (1998), 413-416 fig. 4. Whether the goddess really is Aphrodite (as argued by Torelli) is the cause of debate: see Flemberg, *Venus Armata*, 42, 114 (with further literature). This helmet, an early form of the Corinthian type (H. Pflug, "Korinthische Helme", in *Antike Helme. Sammlung Lipperheide und andere Bestände des Antikenmuseums Berlin* [Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 1988], 73-86), is found in some representations of the seventh and early sixth centuries worn covering the face for protection by a female figure who, if she can be identified, is normally said to be Athena; see recently B. Cohen, "The Early Greek Palladion: Two Bronze Statuettes in America", *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 55/56 (1997/98), 16-18, 24 note 31. The motif was later abandoned because a closed helmet worn pushed down over the face was considered inappropriate for female figures (*ibid.*, 18). In any case, even if among these rare representations Aphrodite-Turan appeared in the local context of an Etruscan sanctuary in the early sixth century, this could hardly be regarded as of relevance for Corinth almost one century later.

⁴² Flemberg, *Venus Armata*, 114.

⁴³ See *LIMC* 2 (1984), 132-133 s.v. Aphrodite 1394-1403 with pls. 137, 138 (Gigantomachies), 1285-1316 with pl. 128, 129 (with Ares) (A. Delivourias); Flemberg, *Venus Armata*, 43-113 with figs.

⁴⁴ For early Archaic representations of Athena with helmet, see Cohen, "Palladion", 11-25 figs. 1-20.

⁴⁵ Blomberg, *Corinthian Iconography*, 85-87, 91-93, 96, 98.

given if her beauty needed to be accentuated. Thus, Athena herself is often decorated with necklace and earrings, not only in Attic vase-painting but also on Archaic coins of Athens.⁴⁶ Similarly, the high neck was by no means an exclusive trait of Aphrodite; Phidias' Athena Promachos on the Athenian Acropolis, for example was especially famous for the beauty of her high neck.⁴⁷ Furthermore, long hair was clearly not a characteristic of Aphrodite, because the hairstyle of the goddess varies considerably on the Corinthian coins themselves.⁴⁸ These all are secondary features which cannot be regarded as relevant for identification if the deity has a distinctive attribute. In the case of the Corinthian coins, they are not suitable to be put forward against the evidence of the helmet as the usual attribute of Athena.

What about the argument that Aphrodite would have been the 'very logical', 'appropriate' choice for the Corinthian coins?⁴⁹ Without a doubt, Aphrodite, having her main sanctuary on Acrocorinth, played a particularly important role in the Corinthian pantheon. But the widely held opinion that Aphrodite was the 'main city goddess' and 'patroness' of Corinth⁵⁰ has to be questioned. In Corinth, Aphrodite was one among several deities whose cults had a special importance for the polis, other such deities being Apollo and especially Poseidon, for whom the Isthmian games were celebrated.⁵¹ Aphrodite was not *the* 'main goddess' who almost exclu-

⁴⁶ There is no reason to assume, as Blomberg, *Corinthian Iconography*, 86-87 did, that the band with dots around Athena's neck is not a necklace but a part of an otherwise invisible *aegis*.

⁴⁷ As emphasized in the description of the statue by Niketas Choniates; see G. Becatti, *Problemi Fidiaci* (Milano: Electa Editrice, 1951), 167 note 5, where the whole passage is quoted. For the iconography of the Athena Promachos, see Ritter, "Athenas Helme", 45-49.

⁴⁸ See Kraay, *Greek Coins*, figs. 225, 226, 228, 230-240 (between c. 510 and 430 BC).

⁴⁹ Blomberg, *Corinthian Iconography*, 96.

⁵⁰ Cf. U. Brackertz, *Zum Problem der Schutzgottheiten griechischer Städte* (PhD Freie Universität Berlin, 1976), 35-38; C.K. Williams II, "Corinth and the Cult of Aphrodite", in *Corinthiaca. Studies in Honor of Darrell A. Amyx*, ed. M.A. Del Chiaro (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 12-24; Blomberg, *Corinthian Iconography*, 82-99; Villing, "Aspects", 93-95.

⁵¹ Cf. J.B. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth. A History of the City to 338 BC* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 398-400 (Aphrodite), 72-73, 180 (Apollo), 60-61, 397 (Poseidon); Blomberg, *Corinthian Iconography*, 76-77, 82. — H. Saffrey, "Aphrodite à Corinthe. Réflexions sur une idée reçue", *Revue Biblique* 92, (1985), 359-374, argued that the idea of Corinth as the city of Aphrodite is badly founded and that Poseidon was the main god of the city.

sively represented the city as Athena did in Athens or other deities did in those poleis where the name of the city and the name of the dominant deity were inseparable. S. Cole and W. Burkert have recently questioned the traditional notion that the pantheon of every Greek polis was dominated by a single patron deity who was responsible for the city, and they have convincingly shown how problematic it is to take the particular case of Athens as a model for other cities.⁵² Coins in particular are not valid indicators because many cities did not choose the deities for their coins that we would expect because of the importance of their cults; also, many cities changed their types or had, as in the case of Corinth, different gods on different denominations.⁵³ There was no canon which determined that a certain deity had to appear on coins, especially at the end of the sixth century BC, when only very few cities minted coins with figures on both sides.⁵⁴

But the decisive argument against the identification as Aphrodite is the use of the Corinthian helmet in Greek coinage. In the fifth and fourth centuries, the Corinthian helmet appears exclusively on the head of Athena, and there is absolutely no indication that different forms of the helmet served to distinguish between different goddesses. This is shown, for example, by the fact that some mints changed back and forth between the Attic and the Corinthian helmet in their representations of Athena.⁵⁵ Aphrodite herself was usually represented without helmet, as is shown, for example, by the coins of Cnidus which had already started to be minted in the second half of the sixth century.⁵⁶ Therefore, an identification of

⁵² S.G. Cole, "Civic Cult and Civic Identity", in *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State*, ed. M.H. Hansen (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 1995), 292-325; W. Burkert, "Greek *poleis* and Civic Cults: Some further Thoughts", in *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Historia Einzelschriften 95, ed. M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1995), 201-210.

⁵³ Cf. Cole, "Civic Cult", 298-301, esp. 300, and Burkert, "Greek *poleis*", 207-209, esp. 208. Both authors question the characteristics that Brackertz, *Schutzgottheiten*, 155-156, had pointed out as typical features of "Schutzgottheiten" (protective deities).

⁵⁴ See below.

⁵⁵ Heracleia: Kraay, *Greek Coins*, 186, 193-194 figs. 736-738 (Attic helmet), 739 (Corinthian helmet). – Velia: *ibid.*, 188, 199 figs. 698, 700-702 (Att.), 703 (Cor.), 704-706 (Att. again). – Soli: *ibid.*, 284 figs. 1017 (Att.), 1019 (Cor.).

⁵⁶ H.A. Cahn, *Knidos. Die Münzen des sechsten und fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Antike Münzen und geschnittene Steine 4 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1970), 68-77 pls. 1, 2 (= series I, c. 530 – 520 BC).

the helmeted goddess on the Corinthian coins as Aphrodite would mean that the Corinthian helmet was used in Corinth itself in a completely different manner from everywhere else in Archaic and Classical Greek coinage. But this is highly improbable, especially given the fact that the Corinthian staters came widely into circulation in Greece during the fifth, and especially the fourth, centuries. How should the ancient onlooker outside Corinth have been able to realise that, in this singular case, the helmeted goddess was not Athena, whom he was used to see everywhere else with exactly the same helmet on her head? In Classical times, the helmet, independent of its shape, was used as the distinctive attribute of Athena in coinage as well as in all other genres of Greek art. Because of this common iconographical convention, the helmeted goddess on the Corinthian coins cannot be identified as any deity other than Athena.

The question is simply whether we regard the goddess on the Corinthian coins as the deity who we might prefer to see there, or as the deity who is to be seen because of the iconographical evidence.

Athena and Pegasus in Corinthian coinage

Athena's presence on the Corinthian staters can be understood without difficulty because of her central importance in Corinthian myth and cult.

As N. Yalouris sufficiently explained in 1950, Athena's particular role in Corinth is indicated by her epithets.⁵⁷ According to Pindar, our earliest written source, Athena gave the golden bridle to Bellerophon, thus enabling him to tame Pegasus, and the hero dedicated an altar to Athena Hippias in return.⁵⁸ This indicates that there existed a sanctuary or at least an altar for Athena Hippias, regarded as having been dedicated by Bellerophon, in Corinth at about 500 BC at the latest.⁵⁹ Also the epithet Chalinitis, attested by Pausanias, refers to Athena having given the bridle (χαλινός) to Bellerophon.⁶⁰ In view of the fact that, according to Pindar, the "in-

⁵⁷ N. Yalouris, "Athena als Herrin der Pferde", *Museum Helveticum* 7 (1950), 19-101, esp. 19-30. Cf. Villing, "Aspects", 89-95.

⁵⁸ Pind. *Ol.* 13.63-86.

⁵⁹ Yalouris, "Athena", 20.

⁶⁰ Paus. 2.4.1.

troduction of measures for horses” was regarded as a Corinthian invention,⁶¹ Athena’s epithets as well as her role in the Bellerophon myth indicate in which particular function she was worshipped in Corinth. As A. Villing has pointed out, Athena was obviously venerated as “goddess of crafts and invention” here.⁶²

In Corinthian art, Bellerophon riding the bridled Pegasus appears already on Protocorinthian vases of the first half of the seventh century.⁶³ The fact that Athena herself is not present in these representations does not mean that she did not play any role at this early time, because, as Yalouris has convincingly argued, Athena Hippias was already famous in Homeric times, and the version of the myth by Pindar evidently goes back to a *ἱερὸς λόγος*.⁶⁴ In this context, it could be interesting that, in some of the above-mentioned Archaic Corinthian representations of Heracles fighting the Hydra, Athena’s owl is sitting on the bridles of the horses of her chariot.⁶⁵ It has been denied that the owl has any relation with Athena here,⁶⁶ but the position of her animal could well be explained by Athena’s association with the taming of horses on which her Corinthian cult was based. In this case, her special function in Corinth would have already been reflected in Corinthian art in the early sixth century.

Athena’s central role in the myth of Bellerophon provides an entirely sufficient explanation for her presence on the Corinthian staters (Pl. 3a). This myth is evidently the connecting link between reverse and obverse types. Pegasus, on the obverse appearing bridled as he already does on earlier Corinthian coins,⁶⁷ was combined

⁶¹ Pind. *Ol.* 13.20. As Yalouris, “Athena”, 30-47, has shown, this probably reflects the fact that one of the inventions for which Archaic Corinth was famous was a special and highly developed kind of snaffle-bit.

⁶² Villing, “Aspects”, 94.

⁶³ Cf. Yalouris, “Athena”, 24-25; K. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagen-darstellungen bei den Griechen* (Berlin: B. Hessling, 1969), 157-161; *LIMC* 7 (1994), 227 s.v. Pegasos 212, 213, pl. 167 (C. Lochin).

⁶⁴ Yalouris, “Athena”, 24-25.

⁶⁵ See above.

⁶⁶ Amandry and Amyx, “Héraclès”, 112: “En tout cas, il n’est guère probable que la présence d’une chouette dans cette scène ait aucun rapport avec celle d’Athéna”. – Further representations of the owl on horses, bridles and chariots: *ibid.*, 112 note 51.

⁶⁷ Cf. Kraay, *Greek Coins*, 80, figs. 220-223; R. Calciati, *Pegasi* (Mortara: Edizioni I.P., 1990), 143, 149-160 nos. 1-39 (= first period, c. 555 – 515 BC).

with the goddess who had made it possible to tame him on the reverse.⁶⁸

The fact that Athena's significance in Corinth was different from that in Athens seems to be reflected in the respective coinages. On the Corinthian coins, Athena plays a less dominant role than in Athenian coinage, where her head was introduced some years earlier (Pl. 3b).⁶⁹ Whereas she appears on all denominations in Athens, in Corinth her head was the permanent type only of the staters, the highest denomination. On the Corinthian drachms and hemidrachms which had at first also used this type, it was replaced by a female head without helmet at the beginning of the fifth century;⁷⁰ this goddess could well be Aphrodite,⁷¹ who appears in a very similar iconography, for example, on the coins of Cnidus already in the sixth century.⁷² Among the other smaller denominations of Corinth, the trihemidrachms are of special interest because the gorgoneion on their reverse is a direct reference to Athena and provides unquestionable evidence for her importance in Corinthian coinage.⁷³ A further difference to Athenian coinage lies in the fact that on the Corinthian staters Athena does not appear on the obverse but on the reverse. This points to a different accentuation of the obverse and reverse types. Whereas in Athens the owl as the special animal of the goddess was added to her on the reverse, in Corinth emphasis was not placed on Athena but, by means of Pegasus, on the local myth of Bellerophon whom Athena had assisted in taming Pe-

⁶⁸ On silver didrachms of Methymna on Lesbos, issued in the early fifth century, Athena wears an open helmet decorated with Pegasus; see *LIMC* 2 (1984), 982 s.v. Athena 289, pl. 738 (P. Demargne). This indicates that Athena's connection with the Bellerophon myth was widely known in Greece in Late Archaic times.

⁶⁹ Athena's head was introduced into Athenian coinage probably under Hippias, around 525/20 BC: Kraay, *Greek Coins*, 60-63 figs. 175-186; J.H. Kroll and N.M. Waggoner, "Dating the earliest coins of Athens, Corinth and Aegina", *AJA* 88 (1984), 328-330.

⁷⁰ *BMC Corinth* 8-9 nos. 79-86 pl. 2.8, 9 (drachms), nos. 91-94 pl. 2.12 (hemidrachms); Blomberg, *Corinthian Iconography*, 69-70, 76, figs. 27, 29.

⁷¹ This is the generally accepted identification; see Kraay, *Greek Coins* 80. — Blomberg, *Corinthian Iconography*, 79-81, 93, 95, 99, argued that Aphrodite would be represented here in a different role than on the staters. But there is no reason to believe that the bareheaded goddess is the same deity as the helmeted one. As in the coinages of other cities, Aphrodite was evidently chosen in order to distinguish iconographically the drachms and hemidrachms from the highest denomination, the staters.

⁷² See above.

⁷³ *BMC Corinth* 10 nos. 105-111, pl. 2.16-17.

gasus. These differences between the coinages of Athens and Corinth correspond to the fact that the Corinthian staters do not show a goddess who dominated the civic pantheon, but one of several deities whose cults were important for the polis.

Athena with Corinthian helmet: the establishment of a coin type

When Athena's head was introduced in Corinthian coinage at the end of the sixth century BC, the motif of the Corinthian helmet worn on top of the head was not new. The Corinthian helmet worn in this position is already found in some representations of the third quarter of the sixth century; in Attic vase-painting, it appears especially on the heads of heroes in situations where they are not fighting.⁷⁴ But in representations of Athena, this helmet motif seems not to have been used, neither in Corinthian art nor earlier in Athenian art. In Athenian vase-painting and sculpture⁷⁵ as well as in Corinthian sculpture,⁷⁶ this iconography of the goddess appeared only in the early fifth century. The helmet motif seems to have been adopted for Athena for the first time in Corinthian coinage, which then appears to have played a decisive role in its widespread diffusion in Greek art from the early fifth century. This is indicated by the fact that the Corinthian coin type became popular in the coinages of other Greek poleis soon afterwards, especially, but not only, in the Corinthian colonies in North West Greece;⁷⁷ the motif was obviously mediated by the widely circulating Corinthian coins and, directly or indirectly, often adopted from them. The question

⁷⁴ The Corinthian helmet on top of the head is worn especially by Achilles playing with Ajax; cf. *LMC* 1 (1981), 97-98 s.v. Achilleus 397 with pl. 97 (c. 535/30 BC); 98 s.v. Achilleus 398 with pl. 97 (c. 540 BC); 99 s.v. Achilleus 408 with pl. 99 (c. 520/10 BC) and 410 with pl. 99 (c. 520/10 BC) (A. Kossatz-Deissmann). For this use of a late version of the Corinthian helmet, see Pflug, "Korinthische Helme", 87-89.

⁷⁵ See Ritter, "Athenas Helme", 21-57.

⁷⁶ For example, a Corinthian terracotta head from a metope, first quarter of the fifth century: S. Weinberg, "Terracotta sculpture at Corinth", *Hesp.* 26 (1957), 317-318 no. 45a, pl. 73; Villing, "Aspects", 91 fig. 10. Corinthian mirror lid with a sitting Athena, fourth century: W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel*, *JDAI* Ergänzungsheft 14 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1942), 102 no. BR 6 fig. 51; A. Schwarzmaier, *Griechische Klappspiegel*, *MDAI (A)* 18. Beiheft (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1997), 244 no. 22.

⁷⁷ Cf. Kraay, *Greek Coins*, 123 with fig. 415 (Leucas, c. 500 BC), 124 with fig. 422 (Ambracia, c. 480 BC), 244 with fig. 913 (Lampsacus, c. 480 BC). For the early coins of Lapethus, see below.

remains why this iconography was chosen for Athena in Corinthian coinage. The search for an attractive representation of the goddess can hardly have been the only motivation. Apparently, the Corinthians intended to create as individual as possible a representation of Athena for their new reverse type.

When Athena's head was introduced in Corinthian coinage, the only important polis on the Greek mainland which represented Athena on her coins was Athens. This fact makes one wonder whether the explanation for the different iconography of Athena on the coins of both cities might not lie in the necessity to make a clear iconographical distinction between their types.

A connection between the coinages is supported by the fact that Corinth, only some years after Athens had done the same, made an innovation in her coinage which was exceptional at the end of the fifth century – the transition to figure motifs on both obverse and reverse. Furthermore, the Athenian coins carry similar motifs to the Corinthian staters – the helmeted head of Athena on one side, and an animal on the other side. And in both cases, there is a close relation between obverse and reverse types based on the reference to Athena. The character as well as the timing of the change in Corinthian coinage indicate that the mint reform in Corinth was inspired by the model of Athens.⁷⁸

Considering the commercial rivalry and the close relations between these two powerful city states in Archaic times, in choosing Athena as their representative in coinage, the Corinthians must have intended to deviate from the representation of the same goddess on the Athenian coins already in circulation.

If the Corinthians wanted to find their own, distinctive iconography for their goddess, they did not have many options. At that time, only a representation of her head could be considered; this motif was not only best suited to fill the round space of a coin but also made it possible to characterise the goddess sufficiently by a specific attribute. The only possibility of deviating from the Athenian iconography was therefore a different representation of the helmet. An open helmet, not covering the face, would have been most appropriate but this motif, which did not allow many variations, was already reserved for Athena on the coins of Athens. A closed helmet, covering the face for protection, was regarded as in-

⁷⁸ Cf. Kraay, *Greek Coins*, 81.

appropriate for the representation of a goddess at this time.⁷⁹ Consequently, the Corinthians adopted a helmet motif already approved in Greek art – the Corinthian helmet on top of the head.⁸⁰ To use it for Athena was not only an original idea but the only real iconographical alternative to the open Attic helmet. This is indicated by the polarization between both helmet types in representations of Athena in Greek art in the time after her head had appeared on the Corinthian coins. In this context, silver staters of Lapethus on Cyprus, issued around 500, are of special interest because they show Athena with an Attic helmet on the obverse and with a Corinthian helmet, worn on top of the head, on the reverse.⁸¹ The strange fact that the same deity appears on both sides of the same coin very probably has to be explained by the attraction of the new type, which stimulated being contrasted with an Athena with Attic helmet, as known from the widely circulating coins of Athens.⁸²

Some of the features of the Corinthian Athena which have been regarded as evidence in favour of an identification as Aphrodite are simply due to the fact that the different forms of the Attic and the Corinthian helmet had consequences for the iconography. In contrast to the open Attic helmet enclosing Athena's head, the closed Corinthian helmet had to be shown on the top of her head. The representation therefore required more space and, in relation to the space available for the design, had to be represented smaller. This is the reason why more of Athena's neck is visible on the Corinthian coins. The same applies to her hair, which could not only be repre-

⁷⁹ See above.

⁸⁰ The fact that this kind of helmet appears to have been closely associated with Corinth may also have played a role. The closed helmet, worn by *hoplites* in Archaic times, was probably already known as 'Corinthian' in antiquity and was possibly invented in Corinth, a city famous especially for the production of helmets in antiquity; for the question whether the *κυνέη Κορινθία* mentioned by Herodotus (4.180) refers to the helmet we commonly call Corinthian, see Pflug, "Korinthische Helme", 65. If this really was the case, this helmet type would have been a particularly appropriate choice for Athena as the protectress of crafts in Corinth.

⁸¹ Kraay, *Greek Coins*, 303, fig. 1091.

⁸² The two helmets are also contrasted on one of the very first Attic representations of Athena with Corinthian helmet, an amphora by the Nikoxenos-painter from the early fifth century in Mississippi; see *LIMC* 2 (1984), 1010-1011 s.v. Athena 582 with fig. (500-480 BC) (P. Demargne) (with further literature). Here, one side shows Athena with the Attic helmet on her head, while on the opposite side she is holding a Corinthian helmet in her hand: this volume, p. 243 Fig. 3.

sented longer and more elaborate, but which was also not covered by the neckguard, as Athena's hair was on Athenian coins.

But, despite this, the motif of the Corinthian helmet on the top of the head itself was obviously regarded as particularly suited to an accentuation of the goddess's beauty. In this respect, it is significant that in Athenian sculpture of the fifth century the Corinthian helmet and the Attic helmet were used in completely different ways.⁸³ Whereas the Attic helmet, associated with the Archaic image of the warlike goddess, is always found on Athena's head when she appears as the dignified representative of Athens, the Corinthian helmet had a different meaning. It appears – consistent with the use of her other attributes and her pose – exclusively in those representations where the intention was not to accentuate her warlike character but her peaceful aspects, especially the beauty of the youthful goddess. The Corinthian helmet worn on top of the head must have had a similar connotation already in Archaic times as is indicated by the fact that it had appeared at first mainly on the heads of heroes at ease. The lifted position of the helmet hints at rather than accentuates the fighting power of its bearer. The fact that the warlike aspect of Athena is moderated in this way fits well with the accentuation of her beauty by means of the necklace, the high neck and the fine hair style. Grace, elegance, and femininity were integral parts of the conception of Athena in Greece, as is also demonstrated by other chapters in this volume (cf. e.g. the contribution of L. Llewellyn-Jones).

The choice of Athena with Corinthian helmet for the Corinthian coins had far-reaching consequences. From this point onwards, an equal iconographical alternative existed in Greek art to her representation with Attic helmet. The Corinthian helmet on the top of Athena's head was regarded as a particularly attractive motif and soon became widely popular in Greek art. In Greek coinage of Late Archaic and Classical times, Athena had an exceptional position. Her image was linked very closely to Athens and Corinth because both poleis, using their own, specific helmet form for Athena, had already chosen her as their representative in coinage in Archaic times and did not change their types throughout the fifth and fourth centuries. Because of this strict iconographical fixation, the

⁸³ For the different usage of both helmets for Athena in Classical Athenian art, see Ritter, "Athenas Helme", 23-57.

Athenian and Corinthian types dominated the image of Athena for centuries.

The coins of Corinth testify to the earliest and most effective attempt of a polis to express an alternative view of Athena – not beyond Athens but in direct opposition to the Athenian demand on the goddess. This reminds us that the close connection between Athens and Athena was by now no means so exclusive as the overwhelming predominance of Athenian sources, monuments, and representations of Athena make us believe.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ I wish to thank Susan Deacy and Alexandra Villing for the invitation to the Athena Conference and the excellent organisation.

CHAPTER NINE

THE MEDUSA-ATHENA NIKEPHOROS COIN FROM PERGAMON

Antonia S. Faita

Introduction

Of all the deities in the Greek pantheon, Athena is perhaps the most traditional in respect to her role in society and religion. Certainly in Greek times, Athena is the predominant warrior goddess, protectress of the city/citadel. She is the embodiment of civic authority *par excellence*.¹

Despite earlier scholarly efforts to associate Athena with fertility functions it seems that the evidence is not sufficient.² Even the myth of Erichthonius, Athena's adopted child, cannot be accepted as evidence of the goddess's fertility nature as she is not his natural mother. Athena is a virgin goddess and therefore by definition a complete stranger to motherhood and the creation of life.

Among the most telling evidence in the iconography of a fertility deity seem to be the so called 'breasts'. In Ionian Greece especially deities depicted with breasts are often encountered, the most famous being Artemis Ephesia.³ This theory was contested by Seiterle

¹ For the role of Athena as patron of the city, see, e.g., the chapters in this volume by S. Deacy and A. Villing, by A. Teffetteller, and by J. Neils. See also W. Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, tr. J. Raffan (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), 139-143 [& lit.].

² For recent work on the cult and functions of Athena and literature on the various fertility theories see A.C. Villing, *The iconography of Athena in Mainland Greece and the East Greek world in the 5th and 4th centuries BC* (DPhil Oxford University, 1997); ead., "Aspects of Athena in the Greek Polis: Sparta and Corinth", in *What is a God? Studies in the Nature of Greek divinity*, ed. A.B. Lloyd (London: Duckworth/Classical Press of Wales, 1997), 81-100; ead., "Fertility, Motherhood and Agriculture: The Hidden face of Athena", paper delivered at the Classical Association Conference, Lampeter, 1998.

³ Similar breasts are depicted on the statues of Artemis of Sardes, Zeus Labraunda, and Zeus Osogoas of Mylassa. On the identification of Artemis' decorations as breasts, see R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und*

who argued that the 'breasts' of Artemis Ephesia were rather the scrota of bulls sacrificed to the goddess.⁴ It is probably under the influence of such deities that modern scholars tend to interpret the spherical globes on the Pergamene Athena Nikephoros as traces of a fertility cult (see 'The theories' below). However, before forming any conclusions, it is important to understand the local context in which the Pergamene Athena was worshipped, the functions of her cult, and the developments in her iconography.

The most important evidence for a fertility cult of Athena in Pergamon is considered to be the goddess's iconography on three Pergamene silver tetradrachms. This type depicted on the obverse Medusa and on the reverse Athena Nikephoros ('bringer of victory'), possessing both Greek and Oriental elements. Careful study of coinage is important as this type is at variance with the traditional Greek representation of Athena in Attalid art and culture.

I shall briefly present the various theories on the date and occasion of these coins' issue, and also the evidence (both literary and archaeological) on the cult and representation of Athena in Pergamon. I shall then present the evidence from the surviving hoards containing Pergamene coinage, in an effort to evaluate their usefulness with respect to understanding the choice of iconography on the coins in question. From this I will argue that the iconography of Athena Nikephoros on this type of coin is connected with the events following Eumenes II's victory over the Gauls in 166 BC, and that it was used as a commemorative issue of the economic alliance between Pergamon and six other Pergamene cities, leading to the introduction of the *cistophorus*. Consequently, I shall demonstrate that the oriental elements on Athena's statue are not, as has been argued, traces of a fertility cult, but have a symbolic meaning associated with the economic alliance.

Syrien (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), 4-88. The only other possible example of Athena depicted with such breasts is on figurines (at least one identified with certainty as Athena) from Lindian colonies in Sicily. However, the evidence is too scarce to suggest a fertility cult; Villing, *Iconography*; ead., "Fertility".

⁴G. Seiterle, "Artemis – die grosse Göttin von Ephesos", *Antike Welt* 10.3 (1979), 2-16. Bammer, on the other hand, judging from the absence of animal bones in the Mycenaean layer of the Artemision, suggested that they refer to fruits or seeds offered to the goddess (A. Bammer, "A peripteros of the Geometric period in the Artemision of Ephesos", *Anatolian Studies* 40 [1990], 139-156).

The coin

Only three specimens of this type survive: one from a Syrian hoard at Ma'aret-en-Numan (Pl. 6a), dating between 162-160 BC, and two from the Sitichoro hoard in Thessaly (168-162 BC).⁵

On the obverse, the head of Medusa is depicted full-face, with two small wings above the forehead. The whole is surrounded by a dotted border, which probably represents the edge of a round shield.⁶ Medusa is depicted in an idealized manner, lacking the fearsome details of Archaic and Classical *gorgoneia*.⁷

On the reverse, Athena Nikephoros is represented frontally. In her right hand she holds a Nike and in her left hand a branch with seven leafy twigs. She wears a tall polos with a veil falling behind her back. Her hair is plaited in two braids on either side of the head. Around her neck she wears a close fitting band above a necklace with pendants. An aegis follows and below that an apron tied below the breast and decorated with seven balls or globes arranged in the form of a crescent which curves upwards; the ball in the centre is larger than the other six. She stands with her upper arms close to the body and forearms held out horizontally almost at right angles to the body. Her shield leans against her left leg. Fillets ending in tassels are wrapped around and hang down from both wrists. The two coins from the Sitichoro hoard have a thunderbolt in the left field. All specimens bear on the reverse the inscription ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ.

⁵ The Royal Numismatic Society, *Coin Hoards*, vol. 6 (London: The Royal Numismatic Society, 1981), no. 37 (Ma'aret-en-Numan); G. Le Rider, "Un tétradrachme d'Athéna Niképhoros", in *RN* 1973, 66-79 (Sitichoro hoard). The coin from the Syrian hoard is in the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals in Copenhagen (Pl. 6a). The two coins from the Sitichoro hoard are in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris and in the British Museum respectively.

⁶ Le Rider, "Tétradrachme", 67; H.D. Schultz, "The Coinage of Pergamon until the end of the Attalid Dynasty (133 BC)", in *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar* vol. 2, ed. R. Dreyfus and E. Schraudolph (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, 1997), 17.

⁷ Cf., e.g., Medusa on the west pediment of the temple of Artemis at Corcyra, of the early sixth century BC, displaying pointed teeth, a protruding tongue, and general monster-like features.

The theories

The absence of any royal symbols and the genitive ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ indicate that the coin or the object represented on it (i.e. the image of the goddess on the reverse) is the sacred property of the deity. The Sitichoro hoard provides a *terminus ante quem* of the years between 168-162 BC for the coins,⁸ while a *terminus post quem* is considered to be the date of the reorganisation of the Nikephoria festival by Eumenes II (181 BC).⁹

Four main theories have been proposed for the occasion and date of this type's issue.

In 1973, Le Rider argued that this type of coin was issued in 181 BC as a commemorative issue for the reorganisation of the Nikephoria festival. Comparing these coins to the ones minted by the Ilian Confederacy, bearing on the reverse the statue of Athena Ilias and the city's mint-mark, Le Rider argued that a similar group of cities were united "around the cult of Athena Nikephoros".¹⁰ He finally suggested that the seven spherical objects on the goddess's apron were breasts similar to the ones on Ephesian Artemis.¹¹

Mørkholm accepted Le Rider's date but rejected his Pergamene Confederacy argument in the absence of any evidence testifying to the existence of such an association. Instead, he proposed that the coin was issued during the Nikephoria festival as a means of exchange and as a kind of propaganda for Pergamon's tutelary deity.¹²

He also noticed that there is a close resemblance between the

⁸ See most recently M.J. Price, "The Larissa 1968 Hoard (IGCH 237)", in *Kraay-Mørkholm Essays: Numismatic Studies in Memory of C.M. Kraay and O. Mørkholm*, ed. G. Le Rider, K. Jenkins, N. Waggoner, and U. Westermark (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Supérieur d'Archéologie et de l'Histoire de l'Art de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1989), 233-243.

⁹ See M. Segre, "L' institution des Nikephoria de Pergame", in L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. 5 (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1948), 104-105 (letter to Cos); *Syll.*³ vol. 2, no. 630 (Delphic Amphictyony); *Syll.*³ vol. 2, no. 629 (Aetolian League). On the Nikephoria festival and its date, see also: E.V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1947), 407-408; C.P. Jones, "Diodoros Paspáros and the Nikephoria of Pergamon", *Chiron* 4 (1974), 183-205 [& lit.].

¹⁰ See Le Rider, "Tétradrachme", 75-78, for a list of similar Hellenistic coinages. On the issues of the Ilian Confederacy, see L. Robert, *Monnaies antiques en Troade* (Paris: Centre de recherches d'histoire et de philologie/Librairie Minard, 1966), 18-46.

¹¹ Le Rider, "Tétradrachme", 72ff.

¹² O. Mørkholm, "Some Pergamene coins in Copenhagen", *Studies in Honour of L. Mildenberg*, ed. A. Houghton, S. Hurter, P.E. Mottahedeh, and J.A. Scott (Wetteren: Éditions NR, 1984), 188, note 29.

Athena on the reverse of these coins and a statuette of Cybele in the Ephesus Museum in the Hofburg of Vienna (Pl. 6b). The statuette was found at the sanctuary of Cybele at Mamurt-Kaleh (30 km from Pergamon) and dates from the second century BC.¹³ The resemblance is particularly evident in the circular decorations on the apron; ten on the statuette of Cybele, seven on Athena. Consequently, he claimed that “these globes are clearly reminiscent of the so-called breasts which adorn the well-known sculptural representations of the Ephesian Artemis, and must be similarly explained”.¹⁴

Finally, considering that Athena is primarily a warrior goddess and a bringer of victory, Mørkholm suggested that under the influence of the Cappadocian Stratonike, wife of Eumenes II and daughter of the Cappadocian king Ariarathes IV, the Pergamene Athena acquired attributes of the great goddess Ma. Therefore, he argued, it is quite probable that, with the reorganisation of the Nikephoria festival, this type of coin was issued bearing on the reverse the transformed cult statue of Athena Nikephoros incorporating elements of the Greek warrior goddess and the Cappadocian great goddess Ma.¹⁵ In fact, he suggested that “in addition to being the warrior-goddess who decides battles in favour of the royal house of Pergamon, she was also a fertility deity who had assimilated many characteristics of the local mother-goddesses so popular in Asia Minor”.¹⁶

Pantos (1986-89) agreed with the date of 181 BC but provided a

¹³ Inv. no AS II113. There are only three examples of Cybele represented in this fashion and they all come from the site of Mamurt-Kaleh. See V. Müller, “Eine Statuette der Kybele in Wien”, *MDAI (R)* 34 (1919), 82-106. Müller suggested that the circular decorations on the apron were pinecones, as the pine-tree was of particular importance in Cybele’s cult and mythology, associated with the emasculation of her lover Attis (Ov. *Fast.* 4.221-244; Arn. *Adv. nat.* 5.5).

¹⁴ Mørkholm, “Pergamene Coins”, 189-190 and note 37. On the identification of the globes as breasts, see Fleischer, *Artemis*, 347-349. In 1997, Seiterle suggested that the Pergamene goddess shared a custom of bull sacrifices similar to the Ephesian goddess, and consequently the globes on her apron should probably be identified as the scrota of bulls: G. Seiterle, “Rückgabe des Zeusaltars – an Athena”, *Antike Welt* 1997, 201-208. See also notes 3-4 (on the various interpretations of Artemis’ breasts) and the section on cult, below.

¹⁵ Mørkholm, “Pergamene Coins”, 191-192. He also identifies the thunderbolt, which appears on the two coins in Paris and London, as the symbol of Ma used on the altar dedicated to her in Pergamon and dated to the second century AD; see *MDAI (A)* 29 (1904), 169ff., no.12. On the marriage of Eumenes II to Stratonike in 188 BC, see Livy 38.39.6; Strabo 12.4.2 [C 624].

¹⁶ Mørkholm, “Pergamene Coins”, 191.

different interpretation for the use of the coin and its meaning.¹⁷ He rejected Le Rider's argument in the absence of mint-marks on the Pergamene tetradrachms, suggesting that they could not have been civic issues.¹⁸ He also argued against Mørkholm's 'Ma theory' indicating that there is no evidence of Ma's worship in Pergamon during the Attalid reign.¹⁹

Pantos' alternative theory begins with the assumption that the genitive ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ should be interpreted as 'statue of Athena Nikephoros' instead of 'coin of Athena Nikephoros'.²⁰ He also argued that, on the occasion of the reorganization of the Nikephoria festival (182/181 BC), Eumenes II issued this type of coin depicting on the reverse the new cult statue of Athena Nikephoros which replaced the old one that had probably been destroyed in the fire of 201 BC.²¹

In an effort to explain the origin of the composite elements of the new cult statue, Pantos referred to Pergamon's contemporary history. After the treaty of Apamea in 189 BC, the Pergamene kingdom was enlarged to incorporate a large part of western Asia Minor including such important cities as Ephesus, Sardes, and Tralles.²² Consequently, the city of Pergamon had become the religious and political centre of the kingdom. Evidence from coinage shows that the cities under Pergamene control contributed financially to the expenses of the Nikephoria festival (see coinage section below). Thus, Pantos concluded, the new cult statue was presented with characteristics of local Ionian fertility goddesses (e.g. Cybele, Artemis Ephesia) in an effort to project Athena Nikephoros as the tutelary deity of the entire kingdom. In this light, Athena Nikephoros was presented as answering the religious needs of the indigenous people of the Pergamene kingdom.²³

¹⁷ P.A. Pantos, "Τύποι της Ἀθηνᾶς στὴν Πέργαμο", in *Φίλια ἔπη εἰς Γεώργιον Μυλωνάν*, vol. 3 (Athens: Bibliothekē tes en Athenais Archaïologikēs Etaireias, 1986-89), 148-156.

¹⁸ Pantos, "Τύποι", 149-150.

¹⁹ Pantos, "Τύποι", 153, see also note 15. On the evidence of the worship of Ma in Pergamon, see E. Ohlmutz, *Die Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon* (Würzburg: Trilltsch, 1940, reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), 185-186.

²⁰ Pantos, "Τύποι", 151-153.

²¹ Polyb. 16.1.5-6 (destruction of the Nikephorion by Philip V c. 201 BC); Pantos, "Τύποι", 151.

²² Polyb. 21.45.

²³ Pantos, "Τύποι", 154-155.

A different theory altogether was put forward by Price, who proposed the date of 168 BC for this type's issue.²⁴ His whole argument rests on the redating of the Sitichoro hoard. Until recently the hoard was dated *c.* 168-167 BC.²⁵ In 1989, however, Price presented some unpublished material from the hoard that brought the date of its deposit down to *c.* 165 BC.²⁶ A *terminus ante quem* for the hoard is provided by the coins found in it of the First Macedonian Republic and the tetradrachms of Lysimachus of Byzantium that were issued after 168 BC, in some cases probably several years thereafter. In addition, the absence from both hoards (Sitichoro and Ma'aret-en-Numan) of Athenian New Style coinage distinguishes these hoards from other mid-second century BC hoards. Consequently, Price argued that a date after 168 BC is safe for the deposit of the hoard; he himself favoured an approximate date of *c.* 165 BC as being most plausible.²⁷ However, he did not attempt to explain the composite nature of the cult statue. He only argued that it was probably issued by the sanctuary during the Gallic invasions of 168/7 BC, as a coin with a shield on its obverse would be "more suitable in a time of war".²⁸

The variety of opinions presented so far suggests that in order to understand the iconography of the goddess on these coins it is imperative to study the nature of the goddess's cult and religion along with her depictions in the art and coinage of Pergamon.

Cult and religion of Athena in Pergamon

There is no evidence of a cult of Athena in Pergamon before the Attalid period. According to local tradition, the cult of Athena was introduced in the city by Auge, princess of Tegea and mother of Telephus, the Pergamenes' mythical ancestor.²⁹ In Pergamon, Athena was worshipped as Areia, Tauropolos, Polias, Tritogeneia

²⁴ Price, "Larissa 1968 Hoard", 237-243.

²⁵ *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, ed. M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm, and G.M. Kraay (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1973), no. 237.

²⁶ Price, "Larissa 1968 Hoard", 233-243.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 242-243.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 239-240.

²⁹ M. Fränkel, E. Fabricius, and E. Schuchhardt, *Altertümer von Pergamon 8. Die Inschriften von Pergamon* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1890), no. 156 lines 23-24.

and Nikephoros.³⁰ The first temple of Athena was erected by Philetaerus – the dynasty's founder – on the southwest corner of the Pergamene acropolis.³¹ A Panathenaea festival was instituted in Pergamon in honour of her status as protectress of the city (Polias) at least by the reign of Eumenes I (263-241 BC), although Ohlemutz believes that it may have been introduced by Philetaerus (283-263 BC) along with the goddess's temple and the cult statue dedication.³²

Athena's warrior status and role as protectress of the city of Pergamon becomes more prominent when in 223 BC Attalus I, having defeated Seleucus III and the Gauls in battle, dedicated a monument commemorative of his victory on the Pergamene acropolis to the goddess Athena Nikephoros.³³ From this time, all monuments, altars, and commemorative stelai were dedicated specifically to Athena Nikephoros.³⁴ In addition, Attalus I dedicated a sacred precinct to Athena, the Nikephorion, outside the city walls sometime before 201 BC, when according to Polybius (16.1.6-7) it was plundered by Philip V.³⁵

Under the title Nikephoros, the goddess Athena was further honoured with the introduction of a new festival, the Nikephoria, probably introduced by Attalus I shortly after his victories in 223 BC, but reorganized to reach pan-Hellenic status on a par with the Pythian and the Olympic games by Eumenes II in 181 BC.³⁶

³⁰ Areia and Tauropolos (*Pergamon 8*, no. 13: oath of Eumenes II and his mercenaries); Polias (*ibid.*, nos. 14-15, 223, 226); Tritogeneia (*ibid.*, nos. 1-2: inscription from a column drum of Athena's temple, see note 32); for Nikephoros, see below notes 33-36. Of the cults of Athena Areia, Tauropolos and Tritogeneia nothing is known, but the context in which they were found stresses the goddess's civic and warrior status; Hansen, *Attalids*, 406 and notes.

³¹ *Pergamon 8*, nos. 1-2.

³² *Ibid.*, nos. 18, 156; Ohlemutz, *Kulte*, 25 notes 26-27. See also my section on coinage, below.

³³ *Pergamon 8*, nos. 33-37.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, nos. 51-56, 58, 60, 62-66, 69, 149, 160, 167, 194, 214-215, 223, 225-226. On the cult of Athena Nikephoros in Pergamon, see especially Ohlemutz, *Kulte*, 33-41, and H.J. Schalles, *Untersuchungen zur Kulturpolitik der pergamenischen Herrscher im dritten Jahrhundert vor Christus* (Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1985).

³⁵ Ohlemutz, *Kulte*, 35, and Pantos, "Τόποι", 150-151, suggested that in this attack the original cult statue of Athena Nikephoros, the form of which we do not know, was destroyed.

³⁶ See above, note 9; in the decrees it is also stated that the (new) Nikephorion sanctuary was to be declared inviolable. Jones, "Diodoros Paspáros", 184, and Ohlemutz, *Kulte*, 34, argued that Attalus I instituted the Nikephoria in the late 220s, basing their

Athena in the coinage of Pergamon

The earliest coins of Pergamon show Apollo on the obverse; not until the time of Lysimachus is the Palladium represented.³⁷ The earliest iconographic representation of Athena from Pergamon comes from a group of gold coins. In the beginning of the third century BC a number of gold staters were issued in Pergamon depicting on the reverse a Palladium. The goddess is holding her spear in her uplifted right hand and in her left is holding a shield from which hangs a knotted woollen fillet. She is wearing a chlamys with a swallow-tailed epiblema over her shoulders and a polos on the head.³⁸ The Palladium on these coins is iconographically similar to the Palladium on an archaistic relief found near her temple – though in the latter Athena is wearing a Corinthian helmet instead of a polos (see following section).

It has been suggested that these coins depicted the cult statue of Athena Polias, deliberately archaizing to give the impression that it was the original statue brought over by Auge.³⁹ The date of this type's issue is considered to be the opening day of Philetærus' new temple to Athena, publicising the image of the goddess's cult statue.⁴⁰ According to Pantos, the polos on the coins should be explained as the conscious effort of the Attalids to depict the Pergamene Athena as a local Ionian deity.⁴¹

argument on a passage in Polybius (4.49.3) referring to sacrifices and contests in honour of Athena in the year 220 BC. R.E. Allen, *The Attalid Kingdom: A Constitutional History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 125, note 187, argued against them, suggesting that the festival was instituted by Eumenes II. See also Pantos, "Τύποι", 150-151.

³⁷ H. von Fritze, *Die Münzen von Pergamon* (Berlin: Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1910), pl. 1.1-5 (Apollo), 7 (Palladium).

³⁸ Pantos, "Τύποι", 144 fig. 1; Schultz, "Coinage of Pergamon", 11 fig. 2; Villing, *Iconography*, 177.

³⁹ *Pergamon* 8, no. 156 lines 23-24 (suggesting that Auge brought to Pergamon the cult statue); Ohlemutz, *Kulte*, 16 notes 1-2; Hansen, *Attalids*, 406; Pantos, "Τύποι", 143, 146 notes 28-29; Schalles, *Kulturpolitik*, 13ff. Lacroix is not sure that the coin and the relief depicted the cult statue of the goddess; L. Lacroix, *Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques. La statuaire archaïque et classique* (Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 1949), 124 note 5.

⁴⁰ Ohlemutz, *Kulte*, 20-22; Schalles, *Kulturpolitik*, 6, 14-15 notes 75, 77; Pantos, "Τύποι", 147-148. However, Ohlemutz and Schalles suggested that the original cult statue was wearing a helmet, rather than a polos.

⁴¹ Pantos, "Τύποι", 148. In Asia Minor, the polos is also found on the cult statues of Athena from Erythrae, Athena Ilias, Athena Polias from Assos, and probably

A completely different Athena is depicted on the royal coinage of Pergamon. The type of the seated Athena leaning her left arm against her shield appears for the first time in 297/6 BC on the reverse of coins issued by Lysimachus from the mints of Lysimachia, Sestus, Lampsacus, Abydus, Sardes, Magnesia-on-Maeander, Colophon, Alexandria Troas, and Pergamon (286/7 BC).⁴² During the reigns of Philetaerus (283-263 BC) and Eumenes I (263-241 BC) the official Pergamene coinage underwent changes until it reached a final stage in the reign of Attalus I (241-197 BC), bearing on its obverse the head of Philetaerus and on the reverse Lysimachus' seated Athena.⁴³

Finally, a number of small bronze and silver coins present one of the strongest arguments against the theory that the coin type under examination was a festival issue. These coins bear on the obverse the head of Athena with a Corinthian helmet and on the reverse an owl in a wreath and the inscription ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ in the genitive.⁴⁴ They are considered to be festival coins of the second century BC.⁴⁵ The most important detail of this type that differentiates these coins from the three tetradrachms is the monogram of Pergamon inscribed below the owl, on the reverse. This monogram indicates that the mint of Pergamon was commissioned by the sanctuary to strike these coins for the financing of the Nikephoria fes-

Athena Magarsis; Pantos, "Τύποι", notes 41-44 for bibliography on these cult statues. None of these statues, however, are of the Palladium type as the Pergamene Athena.

⁴² O. Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 81. Pergamon had been in Lysimachus' possession since 302 BC but did not issue tetradrachms bearing the seated Athena on the reverse until 286 BC; the obverse depicts the head of Heracles with a lion-skin. Diod. Sic. 20.107.205; Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 9; M. Thompson, "The mints of Lysimachos", in *Essays in Greek Coinage Presented to Stanley Robinson* ed. C.M. Kraay and G.K. Jenkins Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 166.

⁴³ It is noteworthy that the Attalids did not attempt to replace the seated Athena of Lysimachus on the reverse of their coins as was done by cities like Alexandria Troas, which went back to representing Apollo Smintheus, its patron-deity, on the reverse, or Magnesia-on-Maeander, which represented Artemis or Apollo, or Colophon, which replaced Lysimachus' seated Athena with Apollo Citharoedus; Head, *Hist. Num.* 540-541, 582-583, 570 respectively. On the coinage of Pergamon, see Schultz, "Coinage of Pergamon".

⁴⁴ H. von Fritze, "Zur Chronologie der autonomen Prägung von Pergamon", in *Corolla Numismatica. Numismatic Essays in Honour of Barclay V. Head* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1906), 50ff., table II. 25, 30, 32-35.

⁴⁵ Cf. e.g. Le Rider, "Tétradrachme", 77, notes 1-2; Schultz, "Coinage of Pergamon", 20-21, fig. 21; Pantos, "Τύποι", 149.

tival. There are also examples of such coins with the monogram of other cities from the Pergamene kingdom (e.g. Ephesus, Sardes, Laodicaea). Fritze suggested that these cities offered their financial contribution to the festival and in exchange they had their monogram on the festival coins.⁴⁶

Athena in the art of Pergamon

An archaistic relief found near the temple of Athena, dating to the second century BC, depicted a Palladium similar to the one on the earlier described gold coins (see above).⁴⁷ On the relief, however, the goddess is wearing a Corinthian helmet instead of a polos and is standing on a base, on either side of which is a lion attacking a bull.⁴⁸ A similar archaistic Palladium is also depicted on a marble slab probably from the Telephus frieze of the Great Altar.⁴⁹

Unlike these archaistic examples, most of Athena's representations from Pergamon follow a more classicizing style. Athena, as goddess of wisdom, was depicted in a copy of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos that was commissioned by Eumenes II to be set up in the Pergamene library.⁵⁰ It has also been argued that a copy of Pheidias' Athena Promachos, commissioned by Attalus I, stood on the round base in the precinct of Athena's temple on the Pergamene acropolis.⁵¹

This theory was accepted by Pantos, who suggested that the cult statue of the Pergamene Athena Promachos can be identified on a

⁴⁶ von Fritze, *Münzen von Pergamon*, 32. For other Hellenistic examples of festival issues see above note 10. For the interpretation of such coins as festival issues, see Robert, *Monnaies*, 36-46.

⁴⁷ F. Winter, *Altertümer von Pergamon 7. Die Skulpturen, mit Ausnahme der Altarreliefs* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1908), 270-271, no. 343, Beibl. 37; *LIMC* 2 (1984), 966 s.v. Athena 78, pl. 713 (P. Demargne).

⁴⁸ On the theory that the Palladium on the coins and the relief depicted the cult statue of Athena Polias, see above and notes 39-41.

⁴⁹ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no. I 12. H. Winnefeld, *Altertümer von Pergamon 3.2. Die Frieze des grossen Altars* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1910), 177 no. 20, Beibl. 31.7.

⁵⁰ Strabo, 12.4.2; *Pergamon* 7, 33-46, no. 24, pl. 8.

⁵¹ J.L. Ussing, *Pergamos. Seine Geschichte und Monumente* (Berlin and Stuttgart: W. Spemann, 1899), 12. R. Wenning, *Die Galateranatheme Attalos I. Pergamenische Forschungen* 4 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1978), 38, note 249. E. Künzl, *Die Kelten des Epigonos von Pergamon*. Beiträge zur Archäologie 4 (Würzburg: K. Triltsch, 1971), 21-22 note 80. Schalles, *Kulturpolitik*, 53-56.

seal (no. 221) from the Aetolian city Kallipolis.⁵² On the seal the goddess is depicted standing, with her body turned three-quarters to the right. She wears a long chiton, holding in her raised right hand a spear. On her chest there are traces of the aegis and on her head she wears a polos consisting of two parts: a lower base-like part and an upper resembling a tower. Pantos noticed that the peculiar tower-like polos of the goddess resembled the crown of the Hellenistic Tyche (e.g. Tyche of Antioch). The introduction of Tyche elements to the Promachos type was interpreted by Pantos as the Pergamene effort to depict their goddess showing favour to the city and the king.⁵³

Another copy of a Pheidian work, Athena Lemnia, has been identified in the statue of Athena with the cross-band aegis found in the last of the western rooms behind the north stoa, dating to the second century BC.⁵⁴ The goddess is wearing a long sleeveless, overgirt peplos fastened around the waist by a girdle consisting of two serpents whose necks are knotted on the front. Two narrow aegis strips, laid over each shoulder, are crossing each other on the breast and back. On the front intersection is a *gorgoneion*. The arrangement of the hair is also unusual as it is combed back from the forehead and high from the neck. The presence of holes in the temples indicate that the goddess wore a wreath. In her left hand she was probably holding a spear and in her right a Nike, an owl, or a helmet.

However, the most well known and often cited representation of Athena from Pergamon comes from the east side of the Gigantomachy frieze of the Great Altar, where she is depicted fighting the insolent giants. She is wearing a long peplos and the aegis with *gorgoneion* on her chest. In her right hand she is holding a shield and on her head she is wearing a Corinthian helmet. With her left hand she is grabbing the hair of her opponent. Approaching her from the right is the winged figure of Nike who is about to crown the goddess victorious.

⁵² The seal is dated *c.* the end of the third century BC and is in the Museum of Delphi (inv. no. 14196). Pantos, "Τύποι", 159-160, 165, pl. 43.N.

⁵³ Pantos, "Τύποι", 161.

⁵⁴ *Pergamon* 7, 13-25, no. 22, pls. 2-5. A. Conze, "Ueber eine Athenastatue aus Pergamon", *Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1893, 209-218; H. Meyer, "Athena Lemnia (Typus Fier – Berlin – Richmond). Zur Identifizierung des meistgerühmten phidiasischen Werkes und seiner Überlieferung", in *Festschrift für Thuri Lorenz zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. G. Erath, M. Lehner, and G. Schwarz (Vienna: Phoibos, 1997), 111-117. For other identification theories, see Hansen, *Atalids*, 319-320 and notes.

Athena's striding position to the right is counter-balanced by Zeus' striding position to the left in the adjoining slab. The two gods together strongly remind us of the Athena/Poseidon group from the Parthenon's west pediment. As these two figures were the first that the spectator would see upon his entering the altar's precinct, he would probably find it easy to relate it to the Athenian Parthenon.⁵⁵ A similar representation of Athena is found on the marble panels of the upper story of Andron V also depicting a gigantomachy; both monuments were commissioned by Eumenes II c. 166 BC.⁵⁶

The interpretation

The redating of the Sitichoro hoard to include the immediate years after 168 BC presents the opportunity to consider the year 166 BC, the year of the Gauls' defeat, as a plausible date for this type's issue. Moreover, the evidence on the cult and worship of Athena Nikephoros from Pergamon indicates that Mørkholm's and Le Rider's 'fertility explanation' cannot be accepted on lack of evidence. On the other hand Pantos' politically oriented interpretation seems to be more plausible. However, he does not attempt to interpret the significance of the seven globes and seven leafy twigs.

Even though Price's contribution in the dating of this type's issue is crucial, his observation that it must have been issued by the sanctuary because of the shield on the obverse seems facile. It is quite unlikely that the sanctuary rather than the state would authorise the issue of a coin in a time of war. In fact, I am not aware of a parallel case in Greek numismatic history.

Furthermore, if we assume, with Mørkholm and Le Rider, that the coin was issued in conjunction with the reorganization of the Nikephoria festival in 181 BC and was re-issued each time the festival was celebrated, the three surviving examples are not enough to

⁵⁵ See e.g. *Pergamon* 3.2, 53ff.; M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), 116; A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 212.

⁵⁶ Great altar: B. Andreae, "Dating and significance of the Telephos frieze in relation to the other dedications of the Attalids of Pergamon", in *Pergamon: The Telephos frieze*, vol. 2, ed. R. Dreyfus and E. Schraudolph (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, 1987), 126. Andron V: W. Hoepfner, "The architecture of Pergamon", *ibid.*, 39.

account for at least 18 subsequent recorded festivals running from 181 to 29 BC.⁵⁷ Moreover, the type is absent from hoards containing Pergamene coins dating both earlier and later than the 160s.⁵⁸ The excellent state of preservation of these three coins (hardly any signs of wear are discernible) and the distinctive absence of this type from hoards containing Pergamene coins indicate that it could not have been the official coinage of the Nikephoria festival. This is further confirmed by the number of small bronze and silver coins that have been identified as festival coins (see coinage section above).

The composite nature of Athena Nikephoros on the Athena-Medusa coins deviates markedly from the traditional Greek representation of the goddess Athena in Pergamon. Moreover, the spherical globes on the goddess's pinafore do not resemble the decorations on the Cybele statuette or Artemis Ephesia. Those on Cybele's pinafore are flat at the top and pointed at the lower end while the ones on the Ephesian goddess have a distinctive egg-shape.⁵⁹

This being the only surviving representation of Athena Nikephoros in this iconography one might argue that the artist found it difficult to depict breast-like decorations on a coin. Such an argument, however, seems weak in light of the existence of coins from Ephesus representing, on the reverse, the statue of Ephesian Artemis with clearly designated 'breasts' or egg-shaped decorations.⁶⁰

It may, therefore, be possible to suggest that the representation of Athena Nikephoros in such fashion was connected with contemporary events. Such an interpretation would not be without precedent in Pergamene history.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Mørkholm, "Pergamene Coins", 188; Le Rider, "Tétradrachme", 70. On the inscriptional evidence of Nikephoria festivals, see *Pergamon* 7, nos. 167, 223, 226; Jones, "Diodoros Paspáros", 183-205.

⁵⁸ *Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, nos. 1326 (Mysia, 135-130 BC), 1327 (Mysia, c. 130 BC), 1328 (Caria, 130-125 BC), 1452 (Asia Minor, 150-145 BC), 1453 (Asia Minor, 150-145 BC), 1455 (Asia Minor, 125 BC), 1772 (Urfa in Mesopotamia, 185-160 BC).

⁵⁹ See above notes 14-15.

⁶⁰ Cf. e.g. a Claudian coin (41-54 AD) from the mint of Ephesus. Fleischer, *Artemis*, 43, pl. 55a.

⁶¹ See above interpretation of the polos of the Palladium on the Pergamene gold staters (text and notes 39-41). See also Villing, "Aspects"; ead., *Iconography*.

When the Gauls invaded Pergamene territory in 168 BC, Eumenes II's brother, Attalus, was sent to Rome to appeal for aid.⁶² The Romans, fearing Eumenes' growing power in Asia Minor, refused to help.⁶³ Thus, Eumenes was forced to fight the Gauls on his own, and from his subsequent victory in 166 BC he emerged as champion of the Greeks of Asia Minor. According to Polybius, "the more severely the Romans treated Eumenes, the greater was the friendliness of the Greeks".⁶⁴ After his victory, the Ionian League declared him "common benefactor of the Greeks" and thanked him for his "many great battles against the barbarians ... in order that the inhabitants of the Greek cities might always live in peace and prosperity".⁶⁵ The Ionians voted him a golden wreath, promised to erect a gilded statue of him, and inaugurated games in celebration of their deliverance from the barbarians.⁶⁶ Sardes instituted games held every four years in honour of Athena and Eumenes Soter, called Panathenaea and Eumeneia.⁶⁷ Tralles instituted musical contests in honour of Eumenes Soter, probably called Eumeneia.⁶⁸ Cos created a priesthood for his worship with sacred processions in his honour.⁶⁹ Teos and Cyzicus inaugurated the worship of Eumenes' mother Apollonis, and Teos also instituted a priest for the worship of the king's wife, Stratonike.⁷⁰

Against this background the introduction of a new type of coin, the *cistophorus*, which celebrated the two deities Heracles and Dionysus, from whom the Attalids claimed descent, signalled the beginning of a new era of prosperity for the Pergamene kingdom.⁷¹ Pergamon formed an economic alliance with cities of her domain

⁶² Polyb. 29.31; Livy 45.

⁶³ C.B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), no. 61, lines 14-15.

⁶⁴ Polyb. 31.6.6.

⁶⁵ Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, no. 52, lines 11, 8-13.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 52, lines 23-26.

⁶⁷ *OGIS*, no. 305, lines 11, 7-12.

⁶⁸ L. Robert, "Décret de Tralles", *Revue de philologie, d'histoire et de littérature anciennes* 8 (1934), 279.

⁶⁹ *Syll*³ no. 1028.

⁷⁰ *OGIS*, nos. 308-309, 325.

⁷¹ The name *cistophorus* is derived from the type of the obverse (Livy 37.46.3): within a wreath of ivy stands a round basket with a half-raised lid from which a serpent emerges to the left. The basket has been identified as the *ciste mystica* of the god Dionysus. The reverse represents two serpents either side of a bow; the smaller denominations bear on the obverse a bunch of grapes and on the reverse a club and a lion's skin. Heracles was the Pergamenes' mythical ancestor through Telephus (see

and issued a common type of coin that could easily be exchanged in the rest of the Greek world.⁷² All authorities agree that the designated function of the *cistophorus* was to create a single currency and thereby establish a common economic market throughout the territory under the control or influence of the Attalids.⁷³

The resemblance of the Athena Nikephoros of our coins (Pl. 6a) to the Cybele statuette (Pl. 6b) is indeed striking. However, the archaeological evidence from the site of Mamurt-Kaleh and Pergamon shows that the Attalids did not attempt to fuse the two cults; nor was the cult of Cybele overshadowed by that of Athena. Attalid dedications and the richness of archaeological material, both from Mamurt-Kaleh and the goddess's sanctuary (Megalesium) outside the city-walls, form evidence of an unbroken cult tradition in honour of Cybele from Attalid through Roman times.⁷⁴

Athena Nikephoros on the Medusa coin wears an apron with seven balls, the largest one in the centre. Her left hand holds a branch with seven leafy shoots. The balls could not possibly have represented breasts, symbols of a fertility cult, as they lack the most important element of fertility, the nipples. The absence of these spherical globes from representations of Athena Nikephoros on coins dated to the Roman period clearly indicates that these globes were not depicted on the goddess's cult statue.⁷⁵ Finally, the globes on Athena's pinafore are placed on an apron tied around her waist far too low to be considered breasts. The equal number of balls and shoots may well mean that they alluded to the same idea.

From the evidence of the hoards containing *cistophoroi* and buried between 150 and 128 BC, there were seven cities minting *cistophoroi*:

above note 29). Dionysus was their divine ancestor (Paus. 10.15.2-3). On the date of the *cistophorus*' introduction and bibliography on the debate, see F.S. Kleiner and S.P. Noe, "The Early Cistophoric Coinage", in *American Numismatic Society Numismatic Studies* 14 (1977), esp. 125. Kleiner and Noe have quite convincingly shown that the *cistophorus* coin was introduced c. 166 BC.

⁷² Its exchange value in the Attalid kingdom was 1 *cistophorus* = 3 Attic drachms = 3 Roman *denarii* (Kleiner and Noe, "Cistophoric Coinage", 15-16).

⁷³ Cf. e.g. O. Mørkholm, "Some reflections on the early cistophoric coinage", in *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 24 (1979), 47; Kleiner and Noe, "Cistophoric Coinage", 125; Head, *Hist. Num.*, 534.

⁷⁴ The first Attalid ruler, Philetaerus (283-263 BC), was responsible for the erection of a sanctuary at the site of Mamurt-Kaleh: Strabo, 13.2.6 [C 619]. The Megalesium was probably built by Attalus I, as is stated by Varro, *De lingua latina*, 6.15. For more dedications, see Hansen, *Attalids*, 263, 398-400.

⁷⁵ Cf. e.g. Le Rider, "Tétradrachme", 72ff., figs. 4-9.

Pergamon, Tralles, Sardes, Ephesus, Synnada, Apamea and Laodicea.⁷⁶ It is not until after 133 BC and the formation of the Roman province of Asia, that other cities of the Pergamene kingdom produced *cistophoroi*.⁷⁷

It is possible that the Medusa-Athena type was struck as a special issue, commemorating this economic alliance. The central ball on the goddess's apron, being the largest, represented the capital Pergamon, the seat of Attalid power; the other six, the remaining cities issuing *cistophoroi*. The seven leafy shoots may well have had the same significance, each representing one city and the top one being Pergamon. The Pergamene kingdom incorporated cities (such as Ephesus and Sardes) in which the worship of Oriental deities such as Cybele and Ephesian Artemis was prominent. It is possible that when Eumenes II issued this type of coin the city's patron-deity was intentionally represented in such hybrid fashion as a sign of goodwill towards the other cities of the alliance. Consequently, Athena Nikephoros appeared not just as Pergamon's patron deity but as patron-deity of the wider economic alliance.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Hoards containing *cistophoroi*: *Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, nos. 1326 (c. 135 BC), 1327 (c. 130 BC), 1328 (c. 128 BC), 1452 (150-145 BC), 1453 (145-140 BC), 1455 (c. 128 BC). Kleiner and Noe, "Cistophoric Coinage", 10-18.

⁷⁷ S.P. Noe, "Beginnings of the cistophoric coinage", in *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 4 (1950), 40.

⁷⁸ An idea already suggested by Pantos, "Τύποι", (see above text and note 23) but argued for the events preceding the year 181 BC (i.e. Apamea Treaty 189 BC).

I would like to thank Susan Deacy and Alexandra Villing for their patience and helpful suggestions, as well as the conference participants for their comments. I would also like to thank Professor Robert Fowler for looking at the draft versions and offering valuable suggestions in the making of this chapter. Finally, I would like to thank the National Museum in Copenhagen and the Kunsthistorisches Museum (Antikensammlung) of Vienna, for kindly providing the photos of the Athena Nikephoros tetradrachm and the statuette of Cybele.

N.B. The date of the beginning of the *cistophoros* is still very much a live issue. See e.g. R. Ashton, in: *Money and its Uses in the Ancient World*, ed. A. Meadows and K. Shipton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming), who more speculatively suggests a date of c. 190 BC.

CHAPTER TEN

SMALL ATHENAS – SOME REMARKS ON LATE CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC STATUES

Ina E. Altripp

High Classical statues of Athena from the middle or the second half of the fifth century BC are generally well known. The last in this particular series of statues, the so-called Athena Ince Blundell, is named after a completely preserved Claudian replica once kept at Ince Blundell Hall, now in Liverpool.¹ This statue type represents a transitional phase between High Classical and later statues of Athena. By wearing the traditional peplos and adopting a Classical, pensive pose, this Athena type still closely connects with the Classical iconography of the goddess.² Certain features, however, such as the smaller statue size and the maidenly, tender expression strongly point to elements from the Late Classical and Hellenistic tradition.

The large number of preserved statues of Athena from the fourth century onward, the majority of which are overlooked even in the handbooks, enable us not only to observe these features but also to examine the degree of iconographical change.

In addition, it is possible to trace a development in the sculpted image of Athena from that of the main goddess of Athens to an essentially harmless girlish depiction, a transition which must reflect a change in the religious or political meaning of Athena.

¹ B. Ashmole, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), 6 no. 8 pls. 10-11; M. Mangold, *Athenatypen auf attischen Weihreliefs des 5. und 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* Hefte des Archäologischen Seminars der Universität Bern (Bern: Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Universität Bern, 1993), 14-24, pl. 1; L. Todisco, *Scultura Greca del IV secolo* (Milan: Longanesi, 1993), pl. 9; B.S. Ridgway, *Fourth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 353-354 no. 10.

² For the iconographical surroundings of the Athena Ince, cf. Mangold, *Athenatypen*, who tries to connect all similar Classical relief depictions of Athena with the Ince statue type; on Athena's Classical iconography and its historical background, see further I. Kasper-Butz, *Die Göttin Athena im klassischen Athen. Athena als Repräsentantin des demokratischen Staates* (Frankfurt a.M.: P. Lang, 1990).

Such a study, however, is confronted by the problem that most of the preserved statues have no recorded archaeological context. Thus, we can only speculate as to the function of these statues. Originally, they could have served as votives or, despite their diminutive size, been used as cult statues. If these statues were votives, it remains unclear to what degree they reflected the common religious iconography of the goddess. Furthermore, our ability to formulate an opinion on the Late Classical iconography of Athena is drawn into question given the incomplete nature of the archaeological record, especially with regard to our knowledge of colossal cult statues.

The only possible approach to clarify this problem involves a comparison with the fifth century, from which the Athena Parthenos, the epitome of a cult statue, is particularly familiar.³ The question of whether this colossal statue exerted a direct influence on the contemporary iconography of the goddess or whether she was instead subject to an abstract, already existing pattern of iconography - which seems more likely - does not diminish the striking iconographical connection between the colossal image and depictions in minor art. A relatively close stylistic and iconographic connection can be observed between the Athena Parthenos and contemporary life-sized and slightly larger than life-sized statues wearing the peplos and helmet, such as the Athena Velletri⁴ and the New York Athena - a new type which is somewhat earlier in date and, despite

³ For the Athena Parthenos, see C. Höcker and L. Schneider, *Phidias* (Reinbek b. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1993), 62-82, 151-152, and W. Fuchs, *Skulptur der Griechen* (4th edn. Munich: Hirmer, 1993), 596 note 205; see further N. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1971), and ead., "Athena Parthenos: Problems of Reconstruction", in *Parthenonkongress Basel I*, ed. E. Berger (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1984), 177-181; cf. Mangold, *Athenatypen*, 25ff.; M. Weber, "Zur überlieferung der Goldelfen bein statue der Phidias im Parthenon", *JDAI* 108 (1993), 83-122, and G. Nick, "Die Athena Parthenos - ein griechisches Kultbild", in *Kult und Kultbauten auf der Akropolis*, ed. W. Hoepfner (Berlin: Archäologisches Seminar der Freien Universität Berlin, 1997), 22-24.

⁴ On the Velletri Athena, see E.B. Harrison, "Alkamenēs' Sculptures for the Hephaisteion: Part I, The Cult Statues", *AJA* 81 (1977), 150-162; P. Karanastassis, "Untersuchungen zur kaiserzeitlichen Plastik in Griechenland. II: Kopien und Umbildungen nach Athena-Typen des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.", *AM* 102 (1987), 350-359; E. Mathiopoulos, *Zur Typologie der Göttin Athena im 5. Jh. v. Chr.* (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1968), 121-133; G.B. Waywell, "Athena Mattei", *BSA* 66 (1971), 376, 380, pl. 69a; B. Vierendeel-Schlörb, *Glyptothek München. Katalog der Skulpturen II* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1979), 136-146 no. 12.

her similarity, must be completely separated from the tradition of the Athena Ince⁵ – as well as the Athena Ince herself.⁶

Thus, if there were some lost cult statues of greater size in the Late Classical period, we may for good reason assume that statues smaller in size possessed a similar iconography. Moreover, we might even assume that as the life-sized statues begin to decrease in size, the cult statues of the Late Classical period – if we insist on distinguishing between cult and votive statues – gradually become smaller and more modest than the colossi representative of the High Classical period.⁷

Another complication involves those statues of Athena which occupy the final typological group at the end of the sequence of iconographical development in the Late Hellenistic period. The most interesting example of this type is now in Tokyo.⁸ In this case, the main points at issue concern the size of the cult images and the function of the Roman – or in this case perhaps pre-Roman – replicas. One initial problem in dealing with this smaller than life-sized Late Hellenistic Athena type is the difficulty in judging whether the three surviving statues and the two heads are copies of a lost original or were sculpted based on a pattern designed during the Hellenistic period. As E. Simon remarked in her publication of the Tokyo statue, the figure, which preserves traces of gilding, should be dated to the early first century BC.⁹ Thus, we are con-

⁵ As argued in my doctoral thesis on Late Classical and Hellenistic statues of Athena that will soon be published. The main piece in New York from which I took the name of the type is a torso whose head is preserved: New York, Metropolitan Museum inv. no. 1926; G.M.A. Richter, *The Metropolitan Museum. A Handbook of the Greek Collection* (Cambridge, CA: Harvard University Press/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), 92, pls. 74-75; Karanastassis, "Untersuchungen", 363, pl. 56.1-2. The type to me seems to have some Polycleitan characteristics.

⁶ On the Athena Ince, cf. above note 1.

⁷ The ancient sources tell us that Leochares made colossal statues (see J.J. Pollitt, *The Art of Ancient Greece. Sources and Documents* [2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990], 90-91) – it would be interesting to examine Pausanias' evidence concerning this aspect. When Pausanias describes an Artemis of Praxiteles in Anticyra in Phocis, he states that "in size the image is taller than the tallest woman" (Paus. 10.37.1, cited after Pollitt, *ibid.*, 89), which surely means the image was only slightly over life-size.

⁸ Tokyo, Matsuoka Museum of Art; E. Simon, "Eine späthellenistische Minerva in Tokio", *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome* 1983, 55-60, pls. 20-22; *LIMC* 2 (1984), 1087 s.v. Athena/Minerva 164a, pl. 799 (F. Canciani).

⁹ See above, note 8.

fronted with the following unanswered questions: Is the Tokyo statue a preserved original? And did this gilded statue, replica or not, serve as a cult image? E. Simon maintains that this statue was a contemporary replica of a lost original, which, like the prototype, served as a cult statue, because the Tokyo statue was apparently found in a sanctuary.

The Tokyo Athena and her counterpart in the Vatican Museums (Pl. 7) are 1.36 to 1.45m high. They wear a high belted peplos and a short himation. This mantle covers the upper thighs, crosses over the back to the left shoulder, slips off the right hip, and is fastened at the left hip by the waist-belt. The prototype was fully armed. It was equipped with an Attic helmet and presumably held a lance and a shield and wore an asymmetrically wrapped aegis. A distinct contrast, often characteristic of Late Hellenistic sculpture, is intended. On the one hand, a maidenly and tender expression, conveyed by an extremely smooth, girlish face, is underscored by the statue's small size and the feminine dress in conjunction with the perhaps slightly erotic allusion of the slipping himation.¹⁰ On the other hand, the aegis and fastened snakes seem to move in a quite naturalistic and almost repellent way, which together with the weapons held by rather masculine arms, stresses the warlike character of the goddess.

Although this contrast can already be observed on Late Classical statues of Athena, it is far less overt and realized in a different manner. At the end of the Late Classical development, almost bordering on the Hellenistic style, stands the Athena Vescovali, a type that is named after a copy from the Vescovali collection and now located in St. Petersburg.¹¹ This Athena type has remained hitherto unknown, despite having been preserved in about 30 only slightly diverging copies (Pl. 8), and is datable on stylistic grounds to the end of the fourth century. This is even more astonishing, since the statue's interesting pose and expression clearly shows what can be cautiously termed Praxitelean or even Scopaeic influence. The orig-

¹⁰ Cf. the so-called Aphrodite of Epidauros; A. Linfert, "Die Schule des Polyklet", in *Polyklet. Der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik. Ausstellung im Liebieghaus, Museum Alter Plastik, Frankfurt am Main*, ed. H. Beck, P.C. Bol, and M. Bückling (Frankfurt and Mainz: Liebieghaus and P. von Zabern, 1990), 260-263 figs. 123-125; cf. here the chapter by L. Llewellyn-Jones, this volume.

¹¹ O. Waldhauer, *Die antiken Skulpturen der Eremitage III* (Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1936), 4-5 no. 218, pls. 6-7; I.E. Altripp, "Zu den Athenatypen Rospigliosi und Vescovali. Die Geschichte einer Verwechslung", *AA* 1996, 83-84, fig. 1.

inal, which is by no means difficult to reconstruct, was about 1.60 m high, that is about life-sized considering the size of Mediterranean women. The figure wore a Corinthian helmet, which must be understood as an allusion to past times, because in the late fifth and throughout the fourth century the Corinthian helmet was obviously no longer put to practical use.¹² The statue's garment consists of a peplos covered by a short himation draped over the left shoulder, a dress combination also found in the Late Hellenistic Athena type. The himation is held by her left lower arm and covered her left hand. It continues in a broad kolpos over the belly and ends just above the knees. The statue with her head turned to her left gazes slightly upwards;¹³ thus her eyes do not meet the eyes of the viewer. Her hair under the helmet is parted in the centre and pulled back, forming a loose pony-tail down her back. The aegis hangs diagonally across her chest, leaving one of her tender breasts visible under the peplos. She stands in contrapposto position, except that the head was turned to the side of the relaxed left leg. Her naked right arm, although not preserved on a single replica, must have been either outstretched and slightly bent to hold a lance or completely lowered to hold a phiale. Since some of the replicas, especially the ones of later Imperial origin, emphasize the maidenly appearance of this Athena type, and others a more matron-like side, we cannot really be sure how the original was meant to appear. In light of the perceived Praxitelean influence in pose and structure, both the tenderness and girlish expression of this Athena type would dovetail well with the impression commonly associated with the works of Praxiteles and his school.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the master who designed a statue stood, as noted above in context with the Athena Parthenos, in a kind of dialectical exchange with the cul-

¹² See S. Ritter, "Athenas Helme. Zur Ikonographie der Athena in der Klassischen Bildkunst Athens", *JDAI* 112 (1997), 21-57.

¹³ For the head of the Athena Vescovali type, which until then was still unknown, cf. Altripp, "Rospigliosi und Vescovali".

¹⁴ The sources present two Athenas of Praxiteles: one in Mantinea together with Hera and Hebe, and the other as a member of a depiction of the twelve gods in the Temple of Artemis Soteira at Megara. The identification of this figure with the Athena Vescovali is not new: Becatti drew the comparison with the so-called 'Ara from Ostia', where Athena, standing in a group of the Twelve Gods in Praxitelean manner, is depicted in the same way as the Athena Vescovali (G. Becatti, "Un dodektheon Ostiense e l'arte di Prassitele", *ASAA* N.S. 1-2 [1939/40], 85-137; Todisco, *Scultura Greca*, pl. 108).

tural surroundings of his time. Praxitelean art, then, is a natural by-product not only of an artist's inspiration but also of the common feelings and the spirit of his lifetime.

In his comprehensive work on Greek sculpture, A. Stewart examines the huge Bronze Athena from the Piraeus and determines that she is a Hellenistic copy of a fourth century original. His comments about the statue refer to the fatal "weakness in so masculine a deity" and the "rather vapid and mawkish air" of the figure as well as its "insipidly sentimental expression of the face". Stewart concludes that "Athena was too tied in Athenian hearts to their years of greatness in the fifth century for her ever to be much of a success in the fourth".¹⁵ Even though the present author does not concur that the Piraeus Athena originated in the fourth century, but rather considers her a Hellenistic creation of the second century BC, this statement seems a little too devaluating.¹⁶ Furthermore, Stewart interprets the concept of the existing fourth-century statue types as a decline. According to Stewart, 'success' relates to the political aspect of Athena and her role as a representative of the Athenian state during the fourth century. The goddess indeed gradually retires from the political scene and eventually adopts a more private and religious role as a goddess of intellectual spirit. In those instances where Athena still appears in monumental form, she seems to represent nothing more than the glorious past. Whether this can be considered less successful is, however, a matter of opinion, especially since this latter feature of the goddess reflects more of her roots than her essentially exaggerated role as figurehead of Athenian identity during the First Delian League.¹⁷ This change, however, did not occur suddenly, but rather unfolded over the course of a century. A political theme undoubtedly continued during this period, albeit only on a smaller, more modest scale in the form of document reliefs.¹⁸ In this form, the goddess watches

¹⁵ A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture* vol. 1 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 179.

¹⁶ To be discussed in the forthcoming publication of my doctoral thesis (see above, note 5). For a similar position, see now M. Fuchs, *In hoc etiam genere graeciae nihil cedamus* (Mainz, P. v. Zabern, 1999), 9-22.

¹⁷ A. Villing, *The Iconography of Athena in Mainland Greece and the East Greek World in the 5th and 4th Centuries BC* (DPhil Oxford University, 1997), 215-222.

¹⁸ See Kasper-Butz, *Athena*; Mangold, *Athenatypen*.

over the affairs of the Athenian polis of whom she is, of course, still a divine representative. The main difference from her role in the fifth century is that any imperialistic claims possibly expressed through her statues have now vanished and Athena has shifted from a representative to a more internal function.¹⁹

A.H. Borbein dates the Athena Rospigliosi to the end of this period when Athena's function was already modified.²⁰ According to Borbein, the Athena Rospigliosi was created between 330-320 BC and, with her diagonally wrapped himation, exemplifies the intellectual values and higher cultural education of the period. The statue is named after a copy in the Palazzo Rospigliosi in Rome²¹ and is preserved in about eight copies (Pl. 9). As illustrated by her best known replica in Florence,²² the Athena Rospigliosi is approximately life-sized and was for a long time considered distinguished by her upward gaze. The unusual upturn of the head has baffled numerous scholars, especially those of the nineteenth century, who made the initial attempts at interpreting the statue. Numerous suggestions were put forward on how to interpret the unusual upward turn of the head. In another context, however, it has been possible to show that the head of the Florence replica actually does not belong to this statue's body.²³ Several other statue heads exist that, following the head from the Florence replica, had always been falsely attributed to the Athena Rospigliosi, when they in fact belong to the latest Classical to Early Hellenistic Athena Vescovali type. The head of the Athena Vescovali type had until then been unknown.

The uncommon appearance of the Athena Rospigliosi and the contrast with the goddess's High Classical depictions induces the modern viewer to postulate, like Borbein and other scholars in his wake, a century long gap between this depiction and the Classical

¹⁹ On the development and change of Athenian political attitudes from the fifth to the fourth centuries, see J. Touloumakos, *Zum Geschichtsbewußtsein der Griechen in der Zeit der römischen Herrschaft* (Bonn: Habelt, 1971), 1-22, who stresses the condemnation of the radical democracy and imperialism of the fifth century by intellectuals of the fourth century.

²⁰ A.H. Borbein, "Die Athena Rospigliosi", *Marburger Winkelmannsprogramm* 1970, 29-43.

²¹ Altripp, "Rospigliosi und Vescovali", 83-84 note 2, fig. 2.

²² *ibid.*, 89-94 note 17, figs. 15-16; Ridgway, *Fourth Century Styles*, pl. 76.

²³ Altripp, "Rospigliosi und Vescovali".

matronal predecessors.²⁴ The early scholarship mentioned above did not feel the need for such a chronological distinction. The earliest date for the Rospigliosi type, as suggested by O. Waldhauer, was the middle of the fifth century,²⁵ and other proposals were mainly confined to the first half of the fourth century.²⁶ This divergent view concerning the date of the Athena Rospigliosi type is remarkable. Its dating is relevant to this chapter because we should be able to assess at about what time in the fourth century it became possible to depict the goddess in the way the Athena Rospigliosi does: Athena is shown at a tender age, flat-chested with an almost boyish figure, wrapped in a short himation over a short chiton with the lower thighs free, a clothing style which, as vase painting scenes confirm, is obviously associated with male dress.²⁷

On stylistic grounds nothing speaks against a placement of the Rospigliosi type within the first half of the fourth century. In comparison with the other copies, it is evident that the rather flat, crude Florence replica, which is of questionable quality and whose head does not belong, should no longer form the basis of argumentation. The other copies exhibit a well-proportioned figure of about 1.63 m in height which is wrapped in a himation reminiscent of the mantles worn by some of the youths on the north frieze of the Parthenon.²⁸ The head is preserved on an early Imperial copy in Berlin (Pl. 9) which seems ultimately to be the best reproduction of the type, with the exception of the later added lower part of the himation, which, unlike the original, hangs down to the base. This copy reveals an equally well proportioned face slightly turned to the left with a quiet gaze.²⁹ The stylistic expression and the size of the figure fit well with other works from the beginning of the fourth

²⁴ It would be interesting to know whether Borbein himself would stick to his dating despite the fact that the upward gaze of the Florence replica is a result of a wrong reconstruction as the head does not belong.

²⁵ O. Waldhauer, "The Date of the Athena Rospigliosi Type", *JHS* 23 (1923), 176-182.

²⁶ For earlier literature, see Altripp, "Rospigliosi und Vescovali", 89 note 19.

²⁷ This will be substantiated to full extent in the forthcoming publication of my doctoral thesis (cf. above, note 5).

²⁸ Cf. slab VI 16-19; F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries* (Mainz: P. v. Zabern, 1977), 29, pl. 58; I. Jenkins, *The Parthenon Frieze* (London: British Museum Press, 1994), 89, with illustration.

²⁹ G. Blümel, *Römische Kopien griechischer Skulpturen des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. Staatliche Museen Berlin, Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen V* (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1938), 25 no. K 239, pls. 53-55; Borbein, "Rospigliosi", 29 note 4, no. 3, pl. 8 left; N.

century.³⁰ Even within this stylistically fixed period of time, the iconography of the type is plausible. This youthful Athena is rather conventional in comparison with statues of other youthful gods dated to about the same epoch, such as the Apollon Sauroktonos or the Artemis from Gabii.³¹ One particular feature of her outfit, however, requires particular mention, since it obviously is designed to capture the viewer's attention. Some replicas show an aegis bedecked with stars, and we have every indication to believe that this attribute derives from the original. Stars occasionally appear in connection with Athena on vase paintings, where they usually adorn the peplos or the himation or, on Panathenaic Prize-amphorae, the shield.³² This decoration on the aegis must have carried a certain meaning now hidden from the interpretative gaze of the modern viewer. Several scholars have speculated on the meaning of the star decoration, but these interpretations remain guesswork, with some even perpetuating the false assumption that the head was raised up.³³ The connotation of stars as attributes of Athena could, after all, simply refer to the common theme of the cosmic, Olympian sphere.

Another conjecture might be possible, however, if one takes into account the meaning ascribed to the wearing of the short himation. The himation has been interpreted as an allusion to the dress of a strategos.³⁴ Unfortunately the iconography of the strategos is any-

Himmelfmann, *Ideale Nacktheit in der griechischen Kunst*, JDAI 26. Ergänzungsheft (Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 1990), 98-100, fig. 50; Altripp, "Rospigliosi und Vescovali", 89-91, figs. 12-14.

³⁰ Cf., e.g., the so-called Hera from Ephesos (E. Atalay, *Weibliche Gewandstatuen aus ephesischen Werkstätten des 2. Jhs. n. Chr.* [Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989], 68-70, figs. 9-16), which must be dated to the beginning of the fourth century. This statue is confronted with the late fifth century Hera Borghese by F. Hiller (*Formgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Statue des späten 5. Jhs. v. Chr.* [Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1971], 26, 66, pls. 11, 36), in order to determine the degree of stylistic change between these two statues, with the later of which the Rospigliosi type must be contemporaneous. For both statues, see also Todisco, *Scultura Greca*, pl. 22 and 42.

³¹ For the Apollon Sauroktonos, see Todisco, *Scultura Greca*, pl. 126, with literature; for the Artemis of Gabii see *ibid.*, pl. 116.

³² Cf. LMC 2 (1984), 969 s.v. Athena 116; 971 s.v. Athena 140; 974 s.v. Athena 177; 1001 s.v. Athena 493; 1005 s.v. Athena 526 (P. Demargne).

³³ For the older literature, see C. Anti, "Athena marina e alata", *Monumenti Antichi* 26 (1920), 270-318; see now L. Todisco, "Un' Atena tipo Rospigliosi tra Taranto e Metaponto", *Ostraka* 2 (1993), 238-246, who suggests an Orphic connection of the type.

³⁴ See Himmelfmann, *Ideale Nacktheit*, 86-101 and R. Krumeich, *Bildnisse*

thing but clearly defined.³⁵ The portrait head of a general, the strategos Copenhagen-Paris-Rome (named after three replicas)³⁶ dated to about 400 BC, certainly has two features in common with the Athena Rospigliosi: the slightly turned head and a star on the helmet right above the forehead. The star on the head of the Copenhagen-Paris-Rome general could have been a symbol of victory,³⁷ as was intended on the Panathenaic amphorae.³⁸ A connection with a specific victory has always been drawn in the older literature in order to interpret the Rospigliosi type and, thus, to pinpoint the occasion and date of the erection of the supposed original statue.³⁹ The question remains if a small statue like the Athena Rospigliosi actually served that purpose. Could the tender figure of the goddess actually be envisioned as a symbol erected in honour of a victory? If we assume that the Athenian political mentality of the fourth century was a little more detached and self-contained than in the fifth, it perhaps could. But there is no specific evidence for the erection of statues of Athena as victory monuments.⁴⁰ The function of statues of Athena apart from cult statues was surely not restricted in meaning as a possible victory monument; it must have gone beyond this level of significance.

griechischer Herrscher und Staatsmänner im 5. Jh. v. Chr. (Munich: Biering und Brinkmann, 1997) *passim*.

³⁵ Cf. Himmelman, *Ideale Nacktheit*, 98-101.

³⁶ D. Pandermalis, *Untersuchungen zu den klassischen Strategenköpfen* (PhD Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg i.Br., 1979), 37-43 no. 5, pls. 9-11.1; E. Voutiras, *Studien zu Interpretation und Stil griechischer Porträts des 5. und 4. Jhs.* (PhD Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1980), 147-156, figs. 84-93.

³⁷ Pandermalis, *Untersuchungen*, 41 note 5; at the Oxford Athena Conference Jenifer Neils made the interesting proposal that the stars could possibly be meant as a hint at the giant Asteriskos, whom Athena defeated during the struggle between gods and giants.

³⁸ See above note 32.

³⁹ T. Dohrn, *Attische Plastik vom Tode des Phidias bis zum Wirken der Meister des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Krefeld: Scherpe, 1957), 205 (erected for the victory of Chabrias 376 at Naxos); B. Schlörb, *Timotheos. JDAI* 22. Ergänzungsheft (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1965), 62-63 (erected for the victory of Timotheos 375 at Alyzia).

⁴⁰ Pausanias mentions three such cases: one is the monument of Athenian tribal heroes at Delphi which contained an Athena (Paus. 10.10.1-2; Pollitt, *Sources*, 64), the other the Athena Areia at Plataea (Paus. 9.4.1; Pollitt, *Sources*, 63-64) and the third, named in the same context, the Athena Promachos on the Athenian Acropolis (Paus. 9.4.1; Pollitt, *Sources*, 63-64); all three are works of Pheidias. The erection of the statues does not really commemorate the victory of Marathon but is rather meant as a symbolic gift of a part of the spoils to the gods. While the Athena Areia seems to have been a cult statue, the Athena from the Delphi Marathon monument was a votive, and the function of the Athena Promachos is difficult to judge.

The Athena Parthenos was purported, apart from depicting the omnipotent goddess, to embody not only victory, but also the wealth and power of the Athenian state. In a similar vein, the Athena Rospigliosi could, as Borbein notes,⁴¹ be closely associated with the increased depictions of important spiritual and intellectual leaders of the time, that is, portraits of poets, philosophers, orators, generals, and statesmen. Furthermore, her boyish figure – if this does not seem too subtle an interpretation – could even be understood as an allusion to the importance of the ephebic stage in the social and military career of young males within Athenian society.⁴² The period, then, from High Classical to Late Classical times was marked not only by a change in those values considered important and worthy of being passed down in sculpted form, but also by a shift in the means of transmission.

While the Athena Rospigliosi still maintains a close stylistic affinity with the High Classical period, the Vescovali Athena (Pl. 8), as noted above, already belongs to a period different in every respect from the fifth century. If the date around 330-20 BC is correct, there is no reason to believe that she could have served as a victory monument. Some replicas discovered in known contexts evidently stood in theatres. Supposing that this circumstance is not coincidental, there are but a few iconographical parallels linking the short himation this Athena wears with a theatrical context.⁴³ Is it plausible, then, to assume that the original was erected in the theatre of Dionysos in Athens which had been renovated under Lycurgus?⁴⁴

Whereas the himation of the Athena Rospigliosi is perhaps an allusion to male honorary statues, the himation of the Athena

⁴¹ Borbein, "Rospigliosi", 37.

⁴² See G. Pelekidis, *Histoire de l'Ephébie Attique* (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1962); for further literature, see S. Schmidt, *Hellenistische Grabreliefs* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1991), 129 note 573; and recently H. Unell, *Athen im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft Darmstadt, 2000), 173-195; see also the chapter by N. Robertson, this volume, esp. pp. 38ff.

⁴³ See, for example, the choregos on the Atarbos-base: *Mind and Body. Athletic Contests in Ancient Greece*, ed. O. Tzachou-Alexandri (Athens: Ministry of Culture – National Hellenic Committee I.C.O.M., 1989), 208-210 no. 101; and a relief found in Athens, A. Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* 17. Beiheft *MDAI (A)* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1996), 335 no. 420, pl. 21.4.

⁴⁴ J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Athen* (Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1971), 537-552; L. Polacco, *Il teatro di Dioniso Eleuterio ad Atene* (Rome, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1990).

Vescovali might thus suggest a connection with the theatre. But the posture of her head is indeed difficult to understand: Is such a dramatic emotive position intended to underscore the theatrical context or is it merely a stylistic element, commonly employed somewhat later in connection with portraits of Alexander the Great?⁴⁵ Unfortunately, the evidence available can only provide us with tantalizing yet insufficient answers to these questions.

There is yet another small Athena that can bridge the stylistic gap between the still Classical Athena Rospigliosi and the already Hellenistic Athena Vescovali. This particular type (Pl. 10) has been traditionally called the Athena-Hephaisteia-Cherchel, but is better named the Ostia-Cherchel, after two of the eight extant examples (one of which, however, most likely is a variant). The Athena Ostia-Cherchel has not yet attracted the degree of controversy one might expect, because it was not exposed to in-depth analysis in earlier publications.⁴⁶

Naturally no progress can be made regarding the interpretation of the statue type unless we are able to determine the date of the supposed original. Speculations concerning the original date of this clearly smaller than life-sized Athena type have not, until now, been attempted, because the lost original was long considered to be the famous cult statue of Athena Hephaisteia seen by Pausanias in the Hephaisteion above the Athenian Agora and which stood beside the god of the temple, Hephaistos.⁴⁷ Since the pair of cult statues has

⁴⁵ In Late Classical or Early Hellenistic sculpture the works of Scopas in particular are supposed to show a characteristic upward turn of the head. This is not the only feature that connects the Athena Vescovali with works presumably of Scopas origin: there are also other stylistic parallels, for example with some of the relief slabs from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus; see now Ridgway, *Fourth Century Styles*, 112-135; for Scopas, see A. Stewart, *Scopas of Paros* (Park Ridge, NJ: Noyes, 1977).

⁴⁶ On the Athena Ostia-Cherchel, see first E. Reisch, "Athene Hephaisteia", *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 1 (1898), 55-93; see now C. Landwehr, *Die römischen Skulpturen von Caesarea Mauretaniae I. Idealplastik, Weibliche Figuren benannt* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1993), 45-47 no. 31 (with bibl.), pls. 40-42.

⁴⁷ On the identification with the Hephaisteion cult group, see B. Sauer, *Das sogenannte Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck* (Leipzig: Giesecke und Devrient, 1899); not accepted by A. Hekler, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 44 (1916), cols. 1367-1368, who was the first to try a stylistic dating which places the statue into the middle of the fourth century. Sauer's theory continues to be accepted by some; see, e.g., W. Fuchs, "Zur Hekate des Alkamenes", *Boreas* 1 (1978), 32-35, pls. 7.1-2, 8.1; but cf. B.S. Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 176 note 33.

been dated, in accordance with the date of the temple, to the second half of the fifth century BC, this Athena type was never given closer consideration.

Despite the rejection of this identification by recent scholarship, this obviously Late Classical Athena type continues to be placed within the fifth century. Another suggestion places the type in the first half of the fourth century, a date better suited to the stylistic behaviour of the figure. A date for the slightly turned, tender, high belted prototype, however, in the early second half of the fourth century, that is around 340 BC, seems to be even more appropriate.⁴⁸ The reason for dating the Athena Ostia-Cherchel to the fifth century might be sought in the girded, bloused-over peplos, which makes the figure at first glance look 'Severe' in the Classical sense. It is reminiscent of Archaic depictions of Athena such as the Angelitos-Athena on the Athenian Acropolis (p. 247 Fig. 4)⁴⁹ or the Severe-style depiction on a metope of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (p. 250 Fig. 6).⁵⁰ During the first half of the fifth century, the bloused-over, girded peplos was used more frequently, because it obviously corresponded to the stylistic features, or perhaps aims, characteristic of this particular time period. During the second half of the fifth century the apptygma becomes shorter, usually ending above the waist, and the fabric of the peplos is obviously more diaphanous which causes the peplos folds to be more agitated. A vase painting of the second half of the fifth century is one of the few known High Classical depictions of Athena in a corresponding peplos and Corinthian helmet.⁵¹ In Late Classical times, the peplos, especially the kind belted below the bloused drapery, went out of use and acquired an old-fashioned or religious connotation, characterizing the figure wearing it as belonging to another, past, and heraldic period.⁵² The heavy drapery of the peplos, especially when compared to the hanging apptygma of the maidens of the Parthenon east frieze or the Erechtheion korai, surely indicates a

⁴⁸ For the complete argument, see the forthcoming publication of my doctoral thesis (cf. above, note 5).

⁴⁹ See J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), fig. 173.

⁵⁰ See J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), fig. 23.5.

⁵¹ Calyx-krater from Camarina, Syracuse, Mus. Naz. 17.427. *LIMC* 2 (1984), 1000-1001 s.v. Athena 491, pl. 755 (P. Demargne).

⁵² See M. Flashar, *Apollon Kitharoidos* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1992), 45-46.

solemn, festive attire.⁵³ The Corinthian helmet on fourth century statues of Athena was, as pointed out above, also a nostalgic feature.⁵⁴ The head of the Athena Ostia-Cherchel, however, is of an unknown type so far,⁵⁵ and there is no reason to discount the possible presence of an Attic helmet which, perhaps, would correspond even better to the structural composition and expression of the figure. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the dress of the Athena Ostia-Cherchel must be understood as a nostalgic touch. As a creation of around 340 BC, the original must have conveyed a distinct message to the observer.

Retrospective tendencies are also visible at the same time in a series of document reliefs which, in their iconography, are believed to rely even more on the Athena Parthenos.⁵⁶ Finally, at about 310 BC, another type of small Athenas, the so-called Areopagus-house type, appears⁵⁷ which is based on nearly the same iconography as the reliefs in question.

M. Meyer interprets this phenomenon on the document reliefs as an attempt to emphasize the importance and significance of Athenian identity in light of the Macedonian threat.⁵⁸ Could this renewal of tradition have provided the impetus which also produced the small, almost classicizing Athena Ostia-Cherchel and conditioned the cultural environment which influenced her appearance? With regard to her small size: would such small and tender depictions of the goddess have been understood as a deterrent to potential enemies? An interpretation of the evidence must proceed in a

⁵³ Jenkins, *Parthenon Frieze*, 76-77.

⁵⁴ Cf. above, note 12; cf. also the contribution of S. Ritter in the present volume (p. 161), which distinguishes two different meanings of the Attic and the Corinthian helmet types in Classical depictions of Athena.

⁵⁵ That the head connected with this statue type in a possible Tyche variant in the Louvre (Reisch, "Athena Hephaisteia", 72 fig. 35; M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies* [New York: New York University Press, 1977], pl. 62 figs. 372-375; *LIMC* 2 [1984], 980 s.v. Athena 252, pl. 733 [P. Demargne]; Todisco, *Scultura Greca*, pl. 86) really belongs to the type – as is accepted by the majority of scholars – cannot be proven with any degree of certainty.

⁵⁶ M. Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs. MDAI (A) 13. Beiheft* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1989), 223-225; C.L. Lawton, *Attic Document Reliefs. Art and Politics in Ancient Athens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 40-42.

⁵⁷ L. Jones Roccas "Athena from a house on the Areopagus", *Hesp.* 60 (1991), 396-415, pl. 107-112.

⁵⁸ Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs*, 54.

different direction, a direction dictated by the actual features attested and corroborated by other statues of Athena of the fourth century and those elements which at the same time constitute the primary differences from High Classical statues of Athena: the values embraced by the small statues of Athena in contrast to the larger, far more representative and powerful ones of the fifth century stem from the same Classical tradition.

Nevertheless, a change can be traced from an overt style charged with religious and political associations to a more introvert, culturally oriented scheme intended not to generate less self-confidence, but designed rather to highlight those traditional, core values which enabled Athenian identity to withstand external threats by belligerent powers.

In light of the material presented above, it is possible to return once again to the Vatican-Tokyo Athena (Pl. 7), the type of small Athena latest in date that was introduced at the beginning of this chapter. If one follows the line of argument outlined above, the himation of the Vatican-Tokyo Athena can be seen as an especially feminine kind of dress that could well have a wider significance. The himation of the Munich Klio, a well-known Hellenistic Muse type,⁵⁹ is arranged in a similar fashion. Even if this similarity was never intended by the Greek artist and may be a sheer stylistic coincidence, it remains astonishing that a common stylistic 'language' was used for both the personification and the armed goddess. Therefore, we are perhaps justified to conclude that Athena, in a figurative sense, during the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods no longer exerted a direct influence as a religious power and nurturing haven for the Athenian political and social system. Athena, rather like the Muses, served as a personification and incarnation of Classical Athenian values, stimulating the transmission of Greek tradition throughout antiquity.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ D. Pinkwart, *Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene und die 'Musen des Philiskos'* (Kallmünz ü. Regensburg: Lassleben, 1965), 143-145, pl. 5a; Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, fig. 766.

⁶⁰ For having initiated and organized the Athena conference I would like to thank S. Deacy and especially A. Villing, with whom an interesting interchange over our work with Athena started when she asked me to participate in the conference. I am furthermore very grateful to K. Gay who kindly read and corrected the essay, and to E. Mathiopoulos with whom I had an intensive and encouraging exchange while writing it.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ATHENA VELLETRI TYPE IN HELLENISTIC ALEXANDRIA

Elsie Mathiopoulos

This chapter is concerned with the developments of and innovations in a Classical Athena type in Ptolemaic Alexandria, both in form and content. Taking into consideration a replica of Athena Velletri from Oxyrhynchos (Pl. 11) which has not been given the attention it deserves by scholars, some archaeological conditions, and some fundamental processes within the historic context of Egypt, I will try to trace the later development of this type, beginning around the middle of the third century BC, and its transformation into Athena Tyche. Throughout the course of this transformation, the iconography in its Classical form remains clearly discernible; it is maintained in spite of being stylistically altered and adapted to the Ptolemaic social and religious context.

Research of the last decades has yielded many insights into the typology, the basic traits, and the meaning of statues, especially cult images, of Minerva; however, this research has focused primarily on the city of Rome and the less provincial Eastern regions.¹ The question of how the meaning of earlier or later Classical iconographic concepts was affected through developments in the Imperial Roman era² – concepts that are known today through their many,

¹ In his work *Klassizistische Statuen – Studien zur Veränderung des Kunstgeschmacks in der Kaiserzeit* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1974) Paul Zanker has taken a new approach to the interpretation and exploration of the reception of sculptures (mainly from Rome) the style and subject matter of which are modelled on Classical works. For specialized accounts of Athena in the East and the West in Roman Imperial times, see W. Schürmann, *Typologie und Bedeutung der stadtrömischen Minerva-Kultbilder* (Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1985); P. Karanastassis, “Untersuchungen zur Kaiserzeitlichen Plastik in Griechenland II: Kopien, Varianten und Umbildungen nach Athena-Typen des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.”, *MDAI (A)* 102 (1987), 323-428.

² In the main, scholars still follow the interpretation of the meaning of divine statuary in Classical Athens as it was given by N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *Zur Eigenart*

more or less varied, repetitions – has to a large extent remained unanswered. In some cases, the additional question arises to what extent the assimilation of Minerva to Athena can be observed,³ and if and how famous Classical Athena statues were used for new purposes or even for conveying political messages at specific events. Undoubtedly, these questions are closely connected with crucial military or historical conditions, such as strategies of display and representation, which were almost invariably dependent on rulers, magistrates or the citizens dominating economic and social life.

It is well known that not only in Athens Athena remained true to her principal role as protectress of city and state – τῆς πόλεως μεδέουσα (Ar. *Eq.* 763)⁴ – and to her own symbolic meaning which, however, had long ceased to be anything but formal. Of her other functions and regional traditions,⁵ determined more by the feminine ideal, such as the Athena Ergane best known from Attica – τὴν Διὸς

des Klassischen Götterbildes (Munich: Prestel, 1959), 20ff., even though recently new avenues have been explored, based on the more or less plausible premise that deities should be de-mythologized and interpreted within the framework of their specific local context; see W. Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985); A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *What is a God? Studies in the Nature of Greek Divinity* (London: Duckworth/The Classical Press of Wales, 1997), in particular A.C. Villing, “Aspects of Athena in the Greek Polis: Sparta and Corinth”, 81-100.

³ For various different views on this matter, see K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 5.4 (2nd edn. Munich: C.H. Beck, 1964), esp. 163-166; G. Radke, *Zur Entwicklung der Göttervorstellung und der Götterverehrung in Rom* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987), 32-154; G. Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion I* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1970), 241, 305; *LIMC* 2 (1984), 1074 S.V. Athena/Minerva (E. Canciani). Fritz Graf’s studies have provided us with several useful points of reference; see esp. his chapter in the present volume. Cf. also id. (ed.), *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft: das Paradigma Roms* (Stuttgart and Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1993), 25ff., 60ff., 67ff., and S. Spence, this volume.

⁴ On the epithets that describe the many aspects of this goddess, see the various studies in this volume (in particular by J. Neils, C. Wagner and S. Ritter). For an earlier study, see esp. C.J. Herington, *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1955) (reviewed by E. Harrison, *AJA* 61 [1967], 208f.). On the epithet ‘Promachos’, see H.G. Niemeyer, *Promachos* (Waldsassen: Stifland, 1960), 25ff., 54f., 76ff.; E. Mathiopoulos, *Zur Typologie der Göttin Athena* (PhD Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 1968), 25f.; furthermore, see I. Kasper-Butz, *Die Göttin Athena im Klassischen Athen* (Frankfurt a.M.: P. Lang, 1990), 20-65; N. Robertson, “Athena’s Shrines and Festivals”, in *Worshipping Athena*, ed. J. Neils (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 27-77; A.C. Villing, “Athena as Ergane and Promachos”, in *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence*, ed. N. Fisher and H. van Wees (London: Duckworth/Cassical Press of Wales, 1998), 147ff.; C.A. Anderson, *Athena’s Epithets. Their Structural Significance in Plays of Aristophanes* (Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner, 1995).

⁵ The other functions of the goddess are dealt with in several contributions to this

γοργῶπιν Ἐργάνην (Soph. fr. 844.2) – little is known in the new political and cultural centres of Hellenistic and Roman times. In the regional aspects, it is Attic characteristics that largely prevail. Otherwise, owing to her function as representative of the demos, statues of Athena in the fourth century maintained strong affinities to the famous model images of the second half of the fifth century. In contrast to other female deities, and in particular Aphrodite, who underwent important and, for various reasons, diverse new developments in Hellenistic and Roman times, the Classical types of the protector of Athens saw rather minor external changes in their iconographic development and are frequently characterized by a sterile and persistent continuity. Most of the famous Athena representations of the fourth century and of Hellenistic times are directly or indirectly dependent on fifth-century types, even though they display some striking innovations in content and form. They reveal a competent reception of Phidian and post-Phidian traits in ponderation, posture, draping of the peplos, and attributes.⁶

Representations of Athena as statues, busts, reliefs, or coin stamps at the courts of Hellenistic and Roman rulers in Macedonia, Pergamon,⁷ and Egypt represent, in an ever more stiff and increasingly symbolic manner, a number of Athena types that had been already depicted for several centuries in a Classicistic manner. A design of Alexander's tetradrachm from Amphipolis, dating from as early as 326/325 BC, shows an Archaistic representation of Athena in combat.⁸ Similar coin types, such as the one issued by Demetrius Poliorcetes in which he commemorated his victory over Ptolemy's armada in 306 BC, have been widely dispersed. Several examples of early designs of Athena on the reverse – full figure or bust – reveal

volume and are differentiated in chapter 1. See also notes 3 and 4 above and the chapters by S. Ritter and L. Llewellyn-Jones, this volume.

⁶ This is shown by Ina Altripp in her contribution to this volume and also, more extensively, in the forthcoming publication of her doctoral dissertation *Athenastatuen der Spätklassik und des Hellenismus* (PhD Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 1999); id., "Zu den Athenatypen Rospigliosi und Vescovali", in *AA* (1996), 83ff.

⁷ P.A. Pantos, "Τύποι της Ἀθηνᾶς στὴν Πέργαμο", in *Φύλια ἔπη εἰς Γεώργιον Ε. Μυλωνᾶν*, vol. 3 (Athens: Bibliothekes tes en Athenais Archaialogikes Etaireias, 1986-89), 148-156, esp. 154ff. See also Antonia Faita's contribution to this volume: both studies contain relevant bibliographies.

⁸ L. Lacroix, *Les reproductions des statues sur les monnaies grecques* (Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 1949), 116ff., note 2; 118, pl. 8.7: see below, note 15.

the symbolic continuity with which Alexander and the Macedonians tried to endow their state with additional splendour.⁹ In this context, I would also like to mention the numerous small, round, gilded clay tokens which show heads of the Parthenos or of a Gorgon, date from the later fourth century BC, and were found in Macedonian graves in Pella, Sedes, Derveni or Machaniona. Today, many of these are exhibited in the Archaeological Museum in Thessaloniki.¹⁰ Even more fascinating is a group of five terracotta figurines of Athena from Pella of the third century BC,¹¹ which probably show Egyptian influence, representing the goddess with two horns – derived in this case from the Egyptian goat-god – on her Corinthian helmet.¹²

We know that Ptolemy I, even before his proclamation as King in 304 BC, in his time as satrap together with Cleomenes, had coins minted showing Athena's head wearing a Corinthian helmet decorated with images of snakes.¹³ Coin types with the above-mentioned well-known Archaistic representations of Athena in combat date

⁹ J. Carlsen et al. (eds.), *Alexander the Great, Reality and Myth* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1993), 171ff., in particular J. Price, "Alexander's Policy on Coinage".

¹⁰ Ph. Petsas, *Pella, Alexander the Great's Capital* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1978); similar disks of thin gold sheet with the eight pointed Macedonian star are also reproduced in *Ancient Macedonia*, ed. L. Braggiotti (Athens 1988), 273, fig. 222.

¹¹ In her doctoral dissertation *The Iconography of Athena in Mainland Greece and the East Greek World in the 5th and 4th Centuries BC* (DPhil Oxford University, 1997), Alexandra Villing deals with these terracotta figures. Together with Greek scholars (P. Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou, Πέλλα I [Athens: Bibliothéke tes en Athenais Archaïologikes Etaireias, 1971], 33ff., 38f.; Petsas, *Pella*, 31f.; *Ancient Macedonia*, 346, fig. 305; and M. Lilimbaki-Akamati, "Pella in Makedonien", in *Die Griechen des Nordens – Sonderausstellung 1.3.1994 – 19.6.1994*, Forum des Landesmuseums Hannover [Athens: Kapon, 1994], 43; also M. Sigonidou-Lilimbaki-Akamati, *Pella, Capital of Macedonians* [Athens, 1996], 50-52, fig. 32), she seeks a solution to the problem of the horns in the old epithet of both Athena and the town of Pella as 'Βουνόμος' (Steph. Byz. on Pella), relating this to the importance of animal breeding in the economy of the region.

¹² This Athena type has become all the more interesting since the recent discovery of a bronze statuette (with the help of finds to be dated around 100 BC, approximately) during excavations by Bavarian authorities in Dornnach (municipality of Aschheim). I have not yet been able to obtain a good photograph of this statuette. On the horned goat deity and its importance to the royal ideology and the religious policy of the early Ptolemies, e.g. Ptolemy II and Arsinoe (see below note 53), see D. Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere und der König* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989); G. Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994), 73ff.

¹³ J.N. Svoronos, *Τὰ νομίσματα τοῦ κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων*, vol. 3 (Athens: Bibliothéke Marasli, 1904), pl. 1.1, 2.1-3, 16.

from the same period.¹⁴ Later Imperial issues of Alexandria show the same Archaistic depiction of the goddess.¹⁵ Further coin designs of Athena were, in increasing numbers, produced in Egypt.¹⁶ They did not cease before the middle of the third century AD, when the famous Abukir gold medallions were minted in honour of the Olympic Games celebrated in Alexandria in 242/43.¹⁷ Little remains of the religious significance of Athena's Classical models, with the Diadochian and Imperial coins in particular attempting to convey new meanings connected with politics and celebrations of victories.

In this connection, an interesting case is represented by one of the replicas of the Classical Attic statue type of the Athena Velletri. Found in Egypt, it is today exhibited in the garden of Pompeius Park in Alexandria (previously in the Musée Greco-Romain d'Alexandrie, inv. no. 23350)¹⁸ and will enable us to make a number of useful observations concerning the phenomenon of the gradual evolution of this type. The statue has to be regarded as a successful and therefore widely disseminated transformation ('Umbildung') of the Velletri type. The following remarks, therefore, are concerned

¹⁴ Svoronos, *Νομίσματα* 3, pl. 2.18-24, 26-28 and more frequently later. *BMC The Ptolemies* (1883), 2-6 nos. 6-16, pl. 1. 2-4; nos. 19-24, pl. 1.5-6; nos. 41-51, pl. 1.8.

¹⁵ P. Franke and M. Hirmer, *Die Griechische Münze* (Munich: Hirmer, 1964), pl. 217; *AJA* 84 (1980), 42f., pl. 7.2; H. Cassimatis, in *LIMC* 2 (1984), 1043 s.v. Athena (in Aegyptio). The most recent contribution to the study of the type 'Herculaneum-Akropolis' is M. Bruskari, "Αθηνᾶ τοῦ τύπου 'Herculaneum-Akropolis'", in *Archaische und klassische Plastik. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums vom 22.-25. April 1985 in Athen*, vol. 2, ed. H. Kyrieleis (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1986), 77-83, pls. 91-92.

¹⁶ *BMC Coins of Alexandria* (1892), 36 no. 288, pl. 4; 82 no. 688, pl. 4; nos. 691-697, pl. 4; 109f. nos. 939, 943, pl. 4; for the last, see below p. 216 for remarks relevant to our inquiry; see also *LIMC* 2 (1984), 1048 s.v. Athena (in Aegyptio) 31, pl. 766 (H. Cassimatis). Here the usual Athena figure with Attic peplos and Corinthian helmet holds scales in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left. The coin is a tetradrachm from the Antoninian period. Cf. further coin designs with various depictions: *BMC Coins of Alexandria*, 190, nos. 1490 and 1603; 142, no. 1191, pl. 27.

¹⁷ H. Dressel, *Fünf Goldmedaillons aus Abukir. Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 2 (1906), 3ff., 25ff., pl. 3, and N. Svoronos, *Les monnaies d'Athènes* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1923/26), pl. 84.1-14; Mathiopoulos, *Typologie*, 18-20, notes 57-70; *LIMC* 2 (1984), 1083-1084 s.v. Athena/Minerva 131, pl. 793 (F. Canciani); *ibid.*, 1046 s.v. Athena (in Aegyptio) 26 (H. Cassimatis). See also for more references to the cult of Athena in the Ptolemaic period, P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), vol. 1, 195 (Athena acquired great popularity in the Roman period); vol. 2, 328, notes 28-30.

¹⁸ E. Breccia, *Le Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie*, vol. 2 (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1931-32, reprinted 1978), 40, pls. 25, 78-78a; *LIMC* 2 (1984), 1046 s.v. Athena (in Aegyptio) 31, pl. 766 (H. Cassimatis). I should like to thank A. Borbein

with the changes in the form of a Classical Athena type, which can be traced, if not without gaps, from the third century BC – the date of the original of one of her Roman reproductions (that of Alexandria) – to Late Antiquity. The development of this well-known Velletri type is all the more interesting and valuable as this transformed offshoot constitutes not only an obvious incarnation of Hellenistic taste of the period, but also provides quite reliable evidence for a deliberate process of transformation and for the new meaning of the type. In the East, from Athens via Alexandria to Gaziantep, this Hellenistic modification of Athena Velletri as Athena Tyche had been widespread for centuries up to the third century AD, while in the West it was primarily the famous ‘pure’ Classical Velletri type that continued its existence in numerous, mainly decorative, statues and statuettes.

Let us begin by taking a close look at the Egyptian larger-than-life statue (Pl. 11): the headless figure measures about 2 metres in height including the plinth; its marble is identified as Greek. The statue was excavated in el Banesa in 1931, probably in the area around the agora of Oxyrhynchus. Although the over life-size torso has not been well preserved, its shape and its formal characteristics can be clearly identified. The parts best preserved, which reveal the quality of the work, are the lower parts of the peplos between the feet, the bunched himation with its folds in the area around the ‘belt’, and the left upper arm. There the remains of a square iron plug are preserved which may suggest either some repair work or, more likely, the attachment of some object. This assumption is supported by two small holes which can be observed between the last two folds of the himation at the left upper arm. An autopsy reveals similar holes in the left upper arm of the replica at the Museo Nuovo Capitolino (inv. no. 1863, Pl. 12).¹⁹ There, however, they are almost certainly the result of later work, just as the slight flattening of the left upper

who helped me to obtain the photographs from the photographic department of the DAI in Cairo. I am also grateful to Dieter Johannes who, in addition to taking the pictures, provided me with invaluable information on the dimensions and the state of preservation of the statue. An adequate description of this statue will be contained in a future study of the Athena Velletri in the *Lieferungswerk Antike Plastik*.

¹⁹ *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 1887, 251; *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica di Roma* 1897, 281, pls. 15-16; D. Mustili, *Il Museo Mussolini* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1939), 120, pl. 77 no. 293; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, vol. 2 (4th edn. Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1966), no. 1773;

arm and the elongated channel-like depression which reaches from just below the hole mentioned above down to the elbow just before the beginning of the lower arm. Further, we must take into consideration another, larger hole that was apparently drilled later at the sinus-end of the apron-like piece of himation for the fastening of a strong support intended for the lower arm with its presumably heavier attribute. All the evidence, and in particular the distribution of holes, points towards a later, thorough transformation of this part of the statue in Rome. This repair work most likely resulted in a deliberate change of the character of the Museo Nuovo statue by means of its attribute. The similarity of the distribution of holes at the left shoulders and arms of the two figures argues against an attribute such as a phiale, an owl, or Nike, and one should look rather for an object leaning against the upper arm of the goddess. A shield, too, must be excluded from the start, since it does not fit this iconographic type and does not occur in any monument of this group. Therefore, the reconstruction suggested here (see below) – with a cornucopia – would seem to be a reasonable and credible conjecture.

If we juxtapose this little-known replica from Oxyrhynchus, which has not yet been fully explored by scholarship, with the headless replica of Athena in the Museo Nuovo Capitolino, a fine work of the first century AD probably predating the Flavian artistic trends, and the most faithful representation of the attitude, movement and several typical features of its Classical original, the differences of the replica in Alexandria should become more obvious, even though the latter was probably produced only a few decades later. It is supposed to be dependent on a Hellenistic transformation ('Umbildung') of the Classical original. The statue from Oxyrhynchus evidently differs from the other large copies of the type in its rhythmic design. In spite of its larger-than-life dimensions it is smaller than the statues in the Louvre or the Museo Nuovo Capitolino (henceforth referred to as 'large copies'). It appears to be more slender, on account of the higher girdle and particularly of the elongated, pointed shape of the aegis with the resulting lower position of the gorgoneion.

E.B. Harrison, "Alkamenēs' Sculptures for the Hephaisteion: Part I. The Cult Statues", *AJA* 81 (1977), 137ff., with a list of replicas of the Velletri type. For the story of the replica in the Louvre, see M. Nocca, *Dalla vigna al Louvre, la Pallade di Velletri* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1997).

Owing to its firmly erect posture, the systems of movement of this replica recede into the background if one compares it with the other large replicas. The rhythmic principle of the Classical original has been considerably changed, though not abandoned altogether. The whole pose of the figure in Alexandria is determined by a fragile balance in a smoothly flowing sequence of its movements, which is here transformed markedly through a more extended forward stretch of the tense right thigh and the slight backward and lateral bend of the calf. The angle between thigh and calf of the figure in Alexandria amounts to 110-120 degrees, of the one in the Museo Nuovo to more than 150 degrees, and even more of the one in Paris. Thus the foot of the free leg with its raised heel seems poised to take a step. At this raised ankle-heel point, the tension of the movement reaches its climax. Here the two major diagonal folds of the coat framing the free leg meet. They begin at the left hip under the apron and end at the left shoulder at the back where they dominate the movement. These unobtrusively placed folds as well as the hem of the coat at the ankle, reaching down considerably lower here, are decisive elements for the character of the Alexandria replica.

To be sure, the replica follows, within certain limits, the basic formula of the body structure and the ponderation of the original which we are able to reconstruct to a reasonable extent with the aid of Roman large-size replicas and plaster casts of the Classical original.²⁰ Incidentally, in these figures in Rome and Paris, the side of the weight-bearing leg, in contrast with the relaxed and somewhat lowered shoulder area and outstretched left arm with an attribute, represents the more stable and compact part of the statue. This impression is supported by the draping of the mantle round the left chest, the area of the shoulder, and the straight downward fall of the long mantle-folds. They close up the opening of the peplos and the mantle, so that the whole of the left flank gives an impression of being wrapped in, at the same time almost forbidding. The right, non-weight-bearing side (I am referring only to the copies in the Louvre and the Museo Nuovo) appears agile and dynamic, with its raised right shoulder and the upward reaching arm, in contrast to

²⁰ C. Landwehr, *Die antiken Gipsabgüsse aus Baiae – griechische Bronzestatuen in Abgüssen römischer Zeit* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1985), nos. 42-52, 76-88. For instance, the turning of the neck can be better understood if we consider fragment inv. no. 1744.87.

the closed wrapping in the mantle of its own lower part of the body. In the Alexandria replica, the contrast is softened by the melting together of the movements of the weight-carrying leg and the free leg through a smooth collateral rhythm.

The lower hem of the replica's peplos touches richly the plinth, in harmony with the broader lower part of the body, a feature that affects the whole movement of the figure in Pompeius Park and that is characteristic of the feminine clothing style of Hellenistic statues in general. Thus, the longer peplos of the replica in Alexandria, as well as the long chiton of many of the female figures represented in relief on some of the so-called Ptolemaic oinochoai,²¹ establish a connection with several Hellenistic or Roman female statues from Egypt commonly regarded as 'Alexandrian'.²² Some further distinctive characteristics, in particular that sensitive torsion of the region around the knee and the calf, or the technique of folds employed for the bunched cloth around the waist above the triangular apron,

²¹ On the Ptolemaic oinochoai, see below p. 206f. The length of the chiton is most clearly represented on several oinochoai, e.g. on D.B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), nos. 1, 2, 9, 11-13, 18, 25-6, 40, 42, and 73; the most vivid three-dimensional rendering is to be found on no. 149 in the Museum of Antalya, which has to be dated to a time shortly after the middle of the third century BC.

²² The statuette of a female temple servant from the Collection Ince-Blundell (A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1882], no. 24; B. Ashmole, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), 13-14 no. 24, pl. 18; G. Lippold, *Die griechische Plastik* [Munich: Beck, 1950], 327; A. Adriani, *Testimonianze e Monumenti di Scultura Alessandrina* [Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1948], 18, pl. 13.1, 3). Here the little statue is still dated to the second century, whereas Lippold and A. Linfert, *Kunstzentren in hellenistischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1976), 103-202, date it to the third century BC. Two additional statues in the National Museum in Athens, inv. no. 224 (Lippold, *Plastik*, 340; S. Karousou, *National Archaeological Museum: Collection of Sculpture* [Athens: Direction of Antiquities and Restoration, 1982], 169) and in the Museum of Chania (Linfert, *Kunstzentren*, 104, pls. 47, 242, 244). Further female figures, mostly originals from earlier and later Hellenistic times or Roman copies – even though they have to be classified under different schemes of garments: e.g. another female figure in the Museo delle Terme, characterized by A. Linfert as Alexandrian (it was Linfert, *Kunstzentren*, 104, note 386b, fig. 247, who introduced it to the scholarly debate). Furthermore the muses (dependent on the Philiskos type) in the Museum of Alexandria, inv. no. 3568, from early Augustan times (A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'Arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano A. Sculture*, vol.1 [Palermo: Banco di Sicilia, Fondazione Mormino, 1961], 37, no. 49, pls. 38, 111; Linfert, *Kunstzentren*, 104) and inv. no. 3599 from the second century AD (Adriani, *Repertorio A* 1, 37 no. 47, pls. 38, 109), which were most probably copied in local workshops of some importance. Finally, the colossal priestess from the first half of the second century AD from Oxyrhynchos (Breccia, *Musée*, 36ff.), which was found very close to the Athena.

which in Egypt is shorter and less lavishly designed, underline the affinity of this replica to several more figures of women from Hellenistic Egypt.²³ In spite of the deliberate simplification the pattern of folds in the copy in Egypt, there is no denying the quality in the treatment of the material. The stiffly arranged folds are separated by deep grooves, with an added thin channel structure visible in a few of the better preserved places, the skilfully folded peplos appears to be falling naturally, while the clusters of folds create a loosening effect, especially if we take into account the shortened and less opulent apron with its fine folded cluster around the waist. This allows the expressive torsion of the knee and calf area, evidently emphasized in addition to the movement, to be more prominent. The lower peplos seam, still well preserved between the feet, placed stiffly upwards over the plinth, together with the details mentioned above, further supports the affinity of this replica to many Hellenistic Egyptian female figures. Thus, the original of this Athena replica must be associated with the beginnings of a new conception of art, which, from the middle of the third century onwards, influenced the increasing 'independence' of the garment in its relation to the body.²⁴

On the other hand, the affinity of the Athena statue in Pompeius Park with the earlier Ptolemaic women on the relief oinochoai mentioned above are obvious at first sight, as far as build, posture or ponderation are concerned, not to mention the typological similarity of the himation arrangement. This clearly indicates that the original conception of the prototype on which the replica is based has to be sought in the stylistic tendencies of the second quarter and the middle of the third century BC. In a number of characteristic features the original of the replica in Alexandria should have been

²³ One is reminded of an Early Hellenistic statuette of Aphrodite from the Nahman Collection in Cairo (Adriani, *Repertorio* A 2, 24 no. 89, pls. 55, 166) and two other small female statues from Egypt in Copenhagen. One of these (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek inv. no. 396; Adriani, *Repertorio* A 2, 35 no. 134, pls. 70, 226) is tentatively dated to the second or first century BC; the second (inv. no. 2240, *ibid.* 35 no. 135, pls. 70, 227), is dated to the fourth century BC. The later of these two (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek inv. no. 396) shows an affinity, too, with the rhythm of the folds on the free leg of our figure from Oxyrhynchos. The lower folds of the peplos are close to those of another female figure in the Museum of Alexandria; Adriani dates this to the early third century (Adriani, *Repertorio* A 1, no. 46, pls. 38, 108).

²⁴ J.P. Niemeier, *Kopien und Nachahmungen im Hellenismus* (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1985), 76f., assumes that this gradual development started a century later.

very close to several relief figures on these Alexandrian oinochoai. In particular, it seems quite plausible that the draping of the coat of the figures on the older vessels, especially of types Ia and Ib (cf. Thompson 125), is dependent on the himation of the Athena Velletri type. This draping of the coat differs from that of the Velletri type in that the himation bunch above the triangular 'apron' is placed in a higher position. Thus a kind of an elaborate belt is formed, which, however, begins to be transformed around the middle of the third century. The bunch slides down, just as it does in the draping of the large copies and the replica in Alexandria.²⁵ Another important change is that the coat is not worn over the left but over the right shoulder. Nevertheless, from the end of the third century onwards, this change was reversed in several vessels, for example in no. 30 from the early time of Arsinoe III and in nos. 36, 60, 62, 63 and 68 from the time of Ptolemy Philopator (see Pl. 13a,b).

In view of the above-mentioned considerable differences of the Alexandrian figure, as far as size, shape, system of ponderation, the horizontal secondary movements intertwined with each other, as well as some details of the arrangement of folds are concerned, one feels compelled to exclude it from the series of the large replicas which were modelled directly in a more or less mechanical way on the Classical Athena Velletri type. Although also a work of the Imperial Roman period, it evidently owes these differences to another, later, original model. This was most likely a separate, Early Hellenistic transformation, which remained true to most of the external characteristics of Athena Velletri, but was given a new meaning and was fashioned in accordance with contemporary taste in a freer spirit. In any case, this Hellenistic variation – no matter where and which workshop it comes from – had little in common, as far as content and style are concerned, with the 'Italian' large-scale copies we know. Evidently, the latter were produced by means of various plaster or measuring-point methods. It is almost beyond doubt that both the replicas in Paris and Rome were produced by means of plaster casts very closely related to those of Baiae.²⁶

²⁵ See, among others, Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai*, nos. 67, 68, 70, 73, and 73 (bis). Of these, nos. 68 and 73 (bis) are also similar in their presentation (right side) of the free leg to the large replicas and the replica in Alexandria.

²⁶ The few fragments of the ancient plaster casts of the Baiae Velletri-type allow us

As far as the dating of the Athena replica from Oxyrhynchos is concerned, an in-depth analysis of form and garments yields more and more evidence that it has to be considered a distinguished, fine work of an Eastern workshop from the 'softer period' of the first Imperial century. It is impossible to decide with absolute certainty whether her model as a remarkable Hellenistic variation was made in Egypt or ordered from abroad by an important Egyptian dignitary. However, it seems probable that its dependence on the Athena Velletri type results from being connected with some political or religious event (on this, see further below), thus remaining largely typological and external in nature. As with most examples of Early Hellenistic copying, we have to assume that the relation between the model of the Athena in Alexandria and its Classical original, or its one or more mediators, is complicated and almost beyond reconstruction.²⁷

All these more or less hypothetical considerations point towards the conclusion that the model of the Athena in Pompeius Park was an early Ptolemaic creation. It is highly probable that it was located in Egypt even if it had been made abroad. As the analysis presented above suggests, the replica from Oxyrhynchos still shows several important traits of the Early Hellenistic concept of its bronze (?) variation, executed in a sensitive and skilful way, even though it is supposed to post-date this model by a little more than three centuries.²⁸ A date for our Athena in the early 'softer' phase of the first century AD is also supported by the type and the hair design of the gorgoneion, as far as its condition allows a valid assessment (Pl. 11). It seems close to the gorgoneion on the breastplate of the statue of Titus in Olympia (inv. no. 144), dating from the 70s of the first century AD.²⁹ There is an even stronger similarity of the facial features and the hair design to gorgoneia on sarcophagi of the so-called

to establish a similarity with the corresponding parts of the replicas in the Louvre and Museo Nuovo. Landwehr, *Baiae*, 76ff.; see also above, note 20.

²⁷ With relatively free imitations made without plaster casts or a method of puncturing it is not necessarily surprising that the sculptor does not limit himself to taking only one specific replica of the same type as his sole point of reference. For a thorough account of this matter, see Niemeier, *Kopien*, 9-15.

²⁸ This fine work by the copyist has induced H. Cassimatis to regard the statue no. 23350 as an original from the second century BC; *LMC* 2 (1984), 1046 s.v. Athena (in Aegypt) 31, pl. 766.

²⁹ K. Stemmer, *Untersuchungen zur Typologie, Chronologie und Ikonographie der Panzerstatuen* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1978), 33f.

'gruppo alessandrino' of the same period.³⁰ Among these gorgoneia, which vary considerably among themselves, it is those with a rounder and fuller lower face and more human features that are relevant here.³¹ It is known that they were made from Proconnesian marble, imported in an unfinished state, and completed in Egypt. Thus, it is not possible to say with absolute certainty to what extent the style and shape of these gorgoneia can be attributed to Egyptian or Proconnesian workshops before one has compared them with similar representations of Gorgon heads from workshops in Asia Minor.³² It may seem appropriate to see in this situation a possible parallel which might explain the above-mentioned similarity to the shapes of garments and the arrangement of folds on works produced both within and outside Egyptian workshops. For it cannot be ruled out that half-finished blocks of marble introduced patterns and new stylistic tendencies from workshops in Asia Minor or the Aegean islands into Egypt. Not only were the political and economic connections between the first Ptolemies and the Dodecanese and several towns in Asia Minor close and fertile, but Ephesus remained a stronghold of Ptolemaic rule in the Aegean Sea until 197 BC. There was a lively exchange not only of merchandise, but also of cultural values and ideas, which can be observed in the whole Aegean world, particularly on Delos.³³

³⁰ E. Breccia, *Le Musée Gréco-Romain au cours de l'année 1922/23* (1931/32), 10f.; Adriani, *Repertorio* A 1, 20. Adriani dates this group primarily to the second half of the first century AD. On the significance of this Alexandrian group from the necropoleis of Egypt, see M. Honroth, *Stadtrömische Girlanden* (Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 1971), 7f.

³¹ In particular Adriani, *Repertorio* A 1, 22 nos. 3, 5, pl. 3, figs. 9, 11 (both of the Gorgon heads left of the bucranium), no. 6, fig. 12 and pl. 5, fig. 17; p. 23, no. 10, pl. 7, fig. 22; p. 24, no. 11, fig. 26 (Medusa head left of the statuette); p. 25, no. 13, pl. 10, fig. 31; p. 26, no. 19, pl. 17, fig. 52 (left of the statuette).

³² Representations of gorgoneia of a later date, today in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, do not contribute much to a definite solution: a sarcophagus decorated with garlands from Iasus, inv. no. 513 (A. Pasinli, *Istanbul Archaeological Museum* [Istanbul: A Tourizm Yayinlari, 1995], 112, no. 100); two osteothecae, made with precise workmanship, one of them (inv. no. 5320 T), from Nicomedia, carrying an inscription in Greek letters dedicated to Tullianus Ameinia, and the other, smaller one (inv. no. 5264 T) from Cabia (Geyve). Created later and mass-produced, these have little in common, stylistically, with the examples from Egypt.

³³ P. Roussel, *Les Cultes égyptiens à Delos du III^e au I^{er} siècle av. J.C.* (Paris and Nancy: Berger-Lerrault, 1915/16). R. Vallois, "Le Temple délien d'Arsinoe Philadelphie ou d'Agathé Tyche", *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendus des*

Considering local conditions, there can be no doubt that, from the beginning onwards, the Ptolemies had a strong interest in the Egyptian religious cult and royal standards and customs. Very soon the new ideology of the Hellenistic ruler established the king as a promoter of almost all ceremonies, of the construction of temples and the care of sanctuaries. Like the majority of Hellenistic monarchs, however, in following their local interests they simultaneously pursued several specific, if external, aspects of both the former Attic and Macedonian state ideology and, to a certain extent, the special ritual traditions of their home country. Thus, based on a belief in the wisdom expected from the King, the Ptolemies transformed Alexandria into the first centre of Greek scholarship.³⁴ Accordingly, Theocritus in his encomium of Ptolemy III, probably delivered at the Ptolemaia festival in 271/70, praised the ruler as a benefactor caring for the well-being of his subjects. In the early years of his reign, Ptolemy III was the first to receive the epithet 'Tryphon'. Thus τρυφή (magnificence, luxury, opulence)³⁵ was idealized as the wealth and splendour of Egypt, which was given to this country by the rule of the Ptolemies. The cornucopia, in turn, is the symbol of τρυφή as understood at the Alexandrian court. It is depicted on precious coin designs mainly from the time of Ptolemy III and his wife, Berenice II, such as, for example, the precious gold drachm from the early forties of the third century, now exhibited in the Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen.³⁶ The obverse of this coin shows the bust of the Queen, the reverse a large cornucopia. Interestingly, it is this symbol of fertility, wealth, and happiness that is worn by the above-mentioned female figures on the faience oinochoai. These vessels were very probably connected with

séances de l'année, 1929, 32-40; J. Marcadé, *Au Musée de Délos* (Paris: de Boccard, 1969), 407ff.; especially Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, 140, 153-162, 169-173; Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches* 43, 86f. (erection of an altar in honour of Ptolemy II around 287/6), 91, 98, 106, 111, with older bibliography.

³⁴ Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I; the chapter entitled "Ptolemaic Patronage – The Mouseion Library" is highly instructive; R. Merkelbach, *Das Königreich der Ptolemäer und die hellenistischen Dichter in Alexandrien* (1981), 27ff.

³⁵ LSJ, p. 1831: softness, delicacy, daintiness, luxuries.

³⁶ H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1975), 95, pl. 82.2: *SNG Danish National Museum, Egypt: The Ptolemies*, ed. A. Kromann and O. Mørholm (1977), no. 169.

the ritual of New Year celebrations.³⁷ As we have been able to observe earlier, several relief figures on these oinochoai display an obvious typological and stylistic affinity with the replica in Alexandria, which, for this reason as well as for others, should be reconstructed with a cornucopia cradled in her left arm. Around the middle of the third century, the time of Ptolemy III and his wife Berenice II – portrayed on coins since 243 BC as royal couple³⁸ and as Θεοὶ εὐεργέται, benefactors expressing a pseudo-social ideology – Egypt flourished in spite of war and the rising of the farmers in 245.³⁹ From the third Syrian war the country emerged as the most powerful Hellenistic state. Therefore, after his successful campaign of 243 BC, known to have been a ‘robbery campaign’ complete with ‘plunder of art treasures’, victorious Ptolemy III could return to Egypt with an enormous amount of money and a large number of statues and other art objects.⁴⁰ His influence on Ephesus, Priene, Colophon, and up to the Hellespont and Thrace – he was named also Hegemon of the Achaean League – was secured for some time to come.

Disregarding the material and its original size, we can assume that the prototype of the Athena in Alexandria most probably dates from shortly before the middle of the third century, not much later than the rule of the ‘benefactors’ (i.e. not in the time of the busy construction work of the first Ptolemies); the lower limit and *terminus ante quem* are the relief figures on the Alexandrian oinochoai (Thompson) nos. 17, 36 (Pl. 13b), 42, and, very importantly, 68 (Pl. 13a) from the time of Philopatorus. It might have been colossal as the large replicas in the Louvre or in Rome or even larger, depending on its function and on the person who commissioned it.

It is beyond doubt that the goddess Athena already played an important part as protectress of the state at the court of the Ptolemies as was the case also with the other Diadochian rulers. This is sup-

³⁷ A. Alföldi, “Die Alexandrinischen Götter und die vota publica, Jahresbeginn”, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 8-9 (1965/66), 53ff., Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai*, 17, 67, 73, 122f.

³⁸ Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches*, 48f.

³⁹ N. Lewis, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt. Case Studies in the Social History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

⁴⁰ Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches*, 46ff., 73; Svoronos, *Νομίσματα* 4 (1908), 158f.

ported by the considerable number of Classical Athena types depicted in coin designs dating from as early as the time of the first Ptolemies.⁴¹ The suggestion has been made above that the original of the Athena from Oxyrhynchos is an Early Hellenistic transformation of the Velletri type into Athena Tyche. This could be expanded further by imagining this new creation as 'Athena Soteira', who, in conjunction with Zeus, decorated the Pharos of Alexandria.⁴² However, the dating and the exact classification of the type of 'Athena Soteira' by Cephisodotus⁴³ in the Diisoterion of Piraeus and the question of its typological dependence on the Classical Athena from Velletri remain unresolved. As long as this is the case, no progress can be made regarding the network of assumptions about the Athena in Pompeius Park as a possible link between the early Ptolemaic model and the 'Soteira' in Piraeus on the one hand and the 'Soteira' of the Pharos in Alexandria on the other.

This daring assumption can, however, be rendered a little less arbitrary by some suggestive coincidences that will now be described and recapitulated. As we have seen earlier, the holes in the left upper arm and in the folds of the himation in the same area, in ad-

⁴¹ See above, p. 199ff.

⁴² The architectural remains of the Pharos reveal little about its statuary ornamentation. According to Frazer, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 1, 20f., 243, 260f., in 1963, frogmen were able to save only a few colossal fragments of the statue of Isis Pharia, which have been kept at the Serapaeum since 1966. They probably add up to a height of 30 metres (*ibid.* 20f., vol. 2, 54f., notes 125-128). Whether this Isis Pharia is related not only to the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphus, but also to that of Athena Tyche, is an open question. I have not been able to obtain reliable information on the fragments of this statue in any publication related to the recent French-Egyptian underwater excavations of the 80s and 90s. In this context, mention should be made nevertheless of an ivory relief from Alexandria dating from the sixth century; bearing inscriptions and representing an Isis Pharia, it now adorns the ambo (no. 4) of Henry II in the cathedral at Aachen. Isis is carrying a cornucopia in her left and part of a ship in her right. The draping of her coat shows only minor differences from the pattern of the Velletri.

⁴³ Cephisodotus (rather than Cephisodorus), the master of the statue of Eirene, flourished around 372-368 BC; Lippold, *Plastik*, 213, 299. The exact location of the temple of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira in Piraeus remains unknown (Paus. 1.1.3; Strabo 9.1.15). It is estimated to be near the temple of Dionysus (*RE* Suppl. 15 [1978], 1055, 1077 s.v. Zeus II [H. Schwabl]; K.V. von Eickstedt, *Beiträge zur Topographie des Antiken Piräus* [Athens: Bibliothek der antiken Archäologischen Etairias, 1991], 115, 173). The complicated question about the written tradition cannot be discussed extensively in this context; nor can the question be answered whether Zeus and Athena or the Dioscuri were the Θεοὶ Σωτῆρες in Alexandria (the latter seems impossible to me because of the cultural policies of the Ptolemies who possibly wanted to compete with the model of the port of Piraeus also in this point).

dition to the affinity of the replica from Oxyrhynchos to some of the relief figures on the Ptolemaic oinochoai,⁴⁴ render a reconstruction as Athena Tyche with cornucopia highly likely. This Hellenistic stage in the development of the Athena Velletri type seems all the more interesting and evident if one considers not only the striking later supplementation of the arm of the replica in the Museo Capitolino with the same heavy attribute of a cornucopia, but also other evidence, again from Imperial time, such as the headless and partly unfinished Attic marble statuette of Athena Tyche (inv. no. 2803) in the storeroom of the Acropolis Museum (Pl. 14),⁴⁵ which testifies to the cult of Athena as Tyche in Athens.

For several reasons, this Attic statuette of a smaller size can be connected to the temple of Tyche on the Ardettos, built in the time of Herodes Atticus.⁴⁶ Tiberius Claudius Herodes (101-178 AD) is known as the most famous and most generous patron of public buildings in the whole of Greece: in Delphi, Olympia, Corinth, and mainly in Athens (Panathenaic stadium). Born in Marathon as the descendant of a wealthy Roman family eminent in politics, he is famous not only as one of the most important teachers of sophistry and rhetoric, but also as the holder of several high offices in Athens, especially under the Emperor Hadrian, and furthermore for his many activities in creating political and cultural bridges between Athens and Rome. His building activities became intense from his main period of holding public office (127-128 AD) onwards; they included building work on the stadium at the time of the Panathenaic festivals in 139/40 and 143/44, on the Ardettos, as well as on the Acropolis of Athens. It is likely that the 40s also witnessed the construction of the temple of Tyche with a gold-ivory statue of the goddess (Paus. 1.19.6; Philostr. *V. S.* 2.1.5). Contrasting the buildings of the Acropolis and the Ardettos, C. Gaspari characterizes the new goddess of the city as follows: “al tempio della nuova divinità protettrice della città della τύχη τῆς πόλεως, di cui Regilla è prima sacerdotessa”. Whether the apotheosis of Annia Regilla,

⁴⁴ See above, pp. 202f., 205ff.

⁴⁵ Mathiopoulos, *Typologie*, 150; C. Praschniker, “Aus dem Depot des Akropolismuseums, I. Athene-Gestalten”, *ÖJh* 37 (1948) Beiblatt col. 3-30, esp. 29f. no. 17, fig. 17; Mathiopoulos, *Typologie*, 150. Karanastassis, “Untersuchungen”, 412f.

⁴⁶ J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Athen* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1971), 498; more recently C. Gaspari, “Lo Stadio Panatenaico – Documenti e testimonianze per una riconsiderazione dell’edificio di Erode Attico”, *ASAA* 52/53 (1974/75) [1978], 367-392.

Atticus' wife, amounts to an identification with the Goddess of Fortune can only be conjectured.

There were other temples of Tyche, not only on the Greek mainland and elsewhere, such as the Tycheion of Ageira, of which, however, only a cult statue is known that has been reconstructed from a few fragments.⁴⁷ The Isis Tyche excavated in Dion in the autumn of 1979 is similar.⁴⁸ Relevant to Delos is the cult of the latter which is connected with the worship of Arsinoe II in the local Tycheion.⁴⁹ In the photographic documentation, a colossal statue of Minerva from Hippo Regius (Pl. 15),⁵⁰ carrying a Latin inscription, shows clearly the same characteristics and attributes as the above-mentioned Attic statuette (Pl. 14), although it is lacking indisputable traces of a cornucopia. In several respects, it is also close to the Athena in Pompeii Park, especially as far as its height (1.83 metres without head), the relation of its upper to its lower body, and the bend of its free leg are concerned. In its attitude, posture, and the arrangement of its garments it shows a remarkable affinity with the Acropolis statuette no. 2803. Another Athena Tyche of even larger dimensions is extant in a torso (the part that has been preserved measures 1.90 metres in height) in the Museum Gaziantep (inv. no. 6201), a summarily worked out Late Imperial torso (Pl. 16).⁵¹ This Athena most

⁴⁷ W. Alzinger, "Die hellenistischen Tempel von Ageira", in *Akten des XIII Internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1988), 551, pl. 86.2. For more representations of Tyche in Hellenistic and Roman times, see C. Nippe, *Die Fortuna Braccio Nuovo: stilistische und typologische Untersuchungen* (Berlin: Oberhofer, 1989) 60ff., and G. Traversari, *La Tyche, da Prusias ad Hypium e la scuola micrasiatica di Nicomedia* (Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1998) 7-11.

⁴⁸ D. Pandermalis, "Η ανασκαφή του Δίου", *Το αρχαιολογικό έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* 2 (1988), 147-152; id., in *Die Griechen des Nordens (op.cit.)*, 38ff.; id. "Ein neues Heiligtum in Dion", *AA* (1982), 727ff., Abb. 3-6; id. *Dion, Ανακάλυψη* (Athens 1999), 58, 102; a head of Medusa of a mosaic and a gorgonion on a shield reproduced in the same publication, pp. 191-194 should be compared with the gilded tokens with Gorgon heads, p. 200, this volume.

⁴⁹ See pp. 208f., 215f., notes 12, 33, 53f. E. Brunelle, *Die Bildnisse der Ptolemäerinnen* (Frankfurt, 1976), 56; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, 243, 260f.; N.M. Kontoleon, *Ὁδηγὸς τῆς Δήλου* (Athens: E en Athenais Archaiologike Etaireia, 1950), 117.

⁵⁰ L. Leschi and M. Bovis, *Algérie Antique* (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1952), 19; Mathiopoulos, *Typologie*, 150ff. A. Grenier, *Villes d'Or, Villes Musées d'Algérie* (1951), 56; S. Dahmani, *Hippo Regius – sites et monuments d'Algérie* (Agence Nationale d'Archéologie et de Protection des sites et monuments historiques) 112. For the photographic documentation I am obliged to the kindness of Dr. Saïd Dahmani and P. Makris, then Ambassador of Greece in Algiers. The horn, which in this case has not survived, can be imagined as an addition made of metal.

⁵¹ J. Wagner, *Seleukeia am Euphrat/Zeugma* (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1976), 127f., pl. 20a.

probably also carried a cornucopia, a fact that can be deduced from the hole drilled into the folded part of her apron-like himation. The way the himation is bunched and the shorter triangle of the apron shown by this summarily worked out Late Imperial torso from Zeugma again closely resemble some figures on the Ptolemaic oinochoai, as well as further representations of Tyche.⁵²

The conception of the original after which the replica of Athena in Alexandria was fashioned, with its new meaning as Tyche, cannot be separated from the symbolism and the ritual ceremonies with which the strictly functional faience oinochoai were originally connected. In addition, the cornucopia had played an important part in the religion and culture of the court of the Ptolemies at least since the time of Philadelphus. A single or double cornucopia⁵³ appears on several coin designs of Philadelphus and his sister and wife, Ar-

⁵² Similarities in the arrangement of the himation, the ponderation and the position of the arms are also shown by a larger-than-life marble statue from Prusias ad Hybrun, inv. no. 4410 (Üskübü Bolu), today in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul (Pasinli, *Istanbul Archaeological Museum*, 60f.); as *τύχη πόλεως*, it wears a richly ornamented crown on its head and holds a little Plutos together with a cornucopia on its left arm (Nippe, *Fortuna Braccio Nuovo*, 34, 90; Traversari, *Tyche*, figs. 1-5). Its earliest possible date is the late second century AD. A Tutela unearthed in the most recent excavations (Palais du Miroir) in the region Saint-Romain-en-Gral, which cannot be dated much earlier, is typologically similar, if much superior in execution (J. and T. Durand, *Scènes de vie Gallo-Romain* [1979], 19). From the same period (perhaps a little earlier), there is a statuette from Nicomedia, also in the Istanbul Museum (inv. no. 4405); it represents a Tyche with cornucopia and mural crown on her head.

Of great interest are two relief representations that support an athlete in achieving victory at the hippodrome of Constantinople. These are to be found on the stele of Porphyrius, inv. no. 2995 T, also in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul. In spite of their poor state of preservation and the rather modest sculptural quality, these two representations provide, as well as the later ivory relief of Isis Pharia (above, note 42), an important link as regards Tyche's functions of support and assistance in the time from Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium and the Middle Ages, where it is in particular texts which played an important role.

⁵³ The double cornucopia *δίκερας* is regarded as an innovation of the single horn by Ptolemy Philadelphus (Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai*, 31ff.); on the reverse of the golden octodrachms or the silver decadrachms of Philadelphus in the period from 271/70-246 BC we find a *δίκερας* (Svoronos, *Νομίσματα* 1, pls. 15.1-30, 16.11). Numerous contemporary issues or later ones with posthumous representations of Arsinoë II on the obverse show a continuation of the *δίκερας* symbol (Svoronos, *ibid.* vol. 3, pls. 19, 26, 20 (see also above, note 48). Not before the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes (see above p. 209ff. notes 33-40) a single *κέρας* is depicted (Svoronos, *ibid.* vol. 1, Einführung σλ' and σμη', vol. 3, pls. 26.23-34, 29.1-11, 17-18). However, this representation of a double cornucopia coincides with the beginning of the class of the Ptolemaic oinochoai (see note 41). Most of the queens represented carry a *δίκερας* or, as on the above-mentioned coins, the single *κέρας*.

sinoe II,⁵⁴ as a dynastic symbol. We also know of the last phase of the deification of this eminent Ptolemaic queen, who was honoured as a priestess of Isis and who was soon identified with her. She was worshipped mainly as Tyche Agathé, and not only in Egypt. Isis and Arsinoe are frequently represented with a cornucopia and with a himation that is a variant of the draping of the Athena Velletri type. Otherwise a tetradrachm from Alexandria dating from the time of Antoninus shows the goddess Athena as Tyche with a cornucopia.⁵⁵ However, here she is clad in the Attic peplos and characterized by a rather rigid posture and ponderation.

Any more relevant evidence from inscriptions or other objects gained after the last submarine excavations in the harbours of Ptolemaic Alexandria might bring into discussion once again the

⁵⁴ Brunelle, *Ptolemäerinnen*, 50ff.; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 1, 241-243, 260f.; vol. 2, 392f. A characteristic example of the works that are without doubt representations of Arsinoe II in miniature art is provided by the bronze statuette in the British Museum (inv. no. 38443), where she appears as Tyche with stephane and cornucopia; *JHS* 26 (1906), 281, pl. 18; Brunelle, *Ptolemäerinnen*, 54; Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer*, 82, 86, 146, 178; H. Maehler and V.M. Strocka (eds.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten, Akten des internationalen Symposions, 27.-29. September 1976 in Berlin* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1978), 249ff. The typological connection between these images and other cultic representations of the Queen, who was deified shortly after her demise as Arsinoe Tyche (see Kyrieleis, *ibid.* 87, "Erst nach ihrem Tode vergöttlicht"), cannot be discussed further here. The personality and the adventurous life of this first eminent woman from the Ptolemy dynasty was already written about by ancient authors from her Alexandrian circle, such as the court poets Theocritus and Callimachus, or later poets such as Memnon Historicus and Athenaeus. Athenaeus mentions her 'eikones' that carry the 'Ἀμαλθείας Κέρας in their left hands (ed. C. Burton Gublick 1933, XI, 479, J.U. Powell, *Cell. Alex.* 173); Burton adds a few verses from the contemporary poet Theocles (*RE* 5.A2 [1934], 1996, s.v. Theokles [R. Bux], and Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 1, 232) one of whose odes establishes an interesting connection between the Dikeras, the celebration of Soteira, and the spiritual presence of the king. For an account of Arsinoe, see Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai* 2, 55-60, 70-75, 82ff.; Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches*, 32ff., 66, esp. 94ff., 260-263, with new findings, based on the 'Mendes' Stele, on Arsinoe's apotheosis and her role as priestess, in her lifetime, at the shrine of the goat at Mendes. There is further an oval intaglio, probably inspired by a Hellenistic gem, with a portrait of Arsinoe represented as Athena with an aegis (J. Santrot [ed.], *Arménie. Trésors de l'Arménie ancienne des origines au IV^e siècle* [Paris: Somogy, 1996], no. 209). For this information I should like to thank Alexandra Villing.

⁵⁵ See above note 10.

conjectured link between the original model of the Roman replica from Oxyrhynchus – completed with the horn of plenty as Athena Tyche – with the ‘Athena Soteira’ accompanying ‘Zeus Soter’ on the monumental Pharos of the city, as well with the ‘Isis Pharia’.

CHAPTER TWELVE

ATHENA, ALTER EGO OF ZEUS

Jenifer Neils

Towards the end of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, the goddess Athena, in explaining her tie-breaking vote on behalf of Orestes, announces:

κάρτα δ' εἰμὶ τοῦ πατρός (738).

Literally she says, "I am very much of the father". Alan Sommerstein's commentary on this somewhat ambiguous line suggests three possible interpretations. The phrase can be translated: "I am wholly my father's child", meaning she has no mother, as stated by Apollo earlier in the play (663). Or it can be read "I am completely on my father's side", that is in any dispute between a father's and a mother's rights; hence her vote exonerating Orestes' matricide. Or "I am a faithful follower of my father". According to this last interpretation the reason for her vote is filial loyalty.¹ She knows the mind of her father and votes accordingly. This reading seems best suited to the issue at hand and reveals how Athena is very much an instrument of Zeus' will, knowing as she does his innermost thoughts. Father and daughter think as one, and she effects the wise counsel of Zeus.²

This paper examines the unique relationship of Athena and Zeus in myth and literature, in religion and state cults, and in the art of ancient Athens. In all three areas the city's tutelary goddess is deliberately associated with Zeus, and her potency on behalf of its citizens derives from her intimate association with the king of the gods. The city in turn benefits from her role as intermediary between the

¹ A.H. Sommerstein (ed.), *Aeschylus' Eumenides* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 231.

² For a slightly different reading of this passage as dealing with the boundaries between male and female which Athena, in her androgyny, transgresses, see S. Goldhill, *Language, Sexuality, Narrative: The Oresteia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 258-259.

human and divine realms. It is often said that Athena is the great reconciler, between men and gods, male and female. Her birth brings an end to the generational conflict among the gods and enables Zeus to become the permanent sovereign. Her complex persona incorporates the roles of both male warrior and female weaver. Her unique partnership with mortal heroes like Odysseus resolves the seemingly endless *nostos* of the hero. And in Attic tragedy one major example of her mediation skills is the successful reconciliation between Orestes and the vengeful Furies at the end of the *Eumenides*.³

Myth and literature

To begin with her name, although many etymological issues are as yet unresolved,⁴ it has been argued that ΑΘ- represents the Hittite *atta*, meaning 'belonging to the father'.⁵ This derivation is then obviously associated with, or even the impetus for, the unusual birth of Athena, from the head Zeus, who had earlier swallowed his pregnant consort Metis ('cunning intelligence'). In order to divert the fulfilment of a prophecy that the child of their union would be stronger than the father, he deliberately destroyed the mother, resulting in a child "wholly of the father". In both Hesiod's *Theogony* (924-926) and the *Homeric Hymn to Athena* she is born from the swollen head of Zeus, already arrayed in her battle gear. Her dramatic epiphany puts all Olympus, the earth, the sea, and the sun into a state of chaos, not unlike the effects attributed to Zeus' thunderbolt when flung against his enemies, the Titans and Typhon (*Theog.* 695-705, 839-852). The appearance of Athena is as potent as the god's ultimate weapon, and the two together are invincible.

³ For further discussion of Athena as a reconciler of male and female, mortal and immortal see S. Murnahan, "The Plan of Athena", in *The Distaff Side: Representing the Female in Homer's Odyssey*, ed. B. Cohen (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 61-80.

⁴ For a discussion of Athena's name as deriving from the city name, see W. Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, tr. J. Raffan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 139-140. For its relationship to *atana potinija* in Linear B, see W. Pötscher, *Hera: Eine Strukturanalyse im Vergleich mit Athena* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987), 160-168. See also A. Teffeteller, this volume, pp. 356f.

⁵ O. Szemerényi, "The Origins of the Greek Lexicon: *Ex oriente lux*", *JHS* 94 (1974), 154-155.

Homer also accentuates this close association of Zeus and Athena. Although the poet is silent about her peculiar birth, at *Iliad* 5.880 Ares complains that Zeus lets Athena do as she pleases just because he gave birth to (ἐγγείναο) her.⁶ Throughout both epic poems Athena is clearly favoured by her father, and at one point (*Il.* 8.360-372) she claims that her patronage of Heracles was commanded by Zeus and carried out to please him.⁷ In effect, Athena is treated like a beloved son in epic literature. From birth she is armed with male weaponry – helmet, spear, shield. Like a king, she resides in a palace, the strong-built house of Erechtheus, on a heavily fortified citadel. She is adept at masculine skills: taming horses, bronze-casting, tending the olive. She drives a chariot and fights by her father's side in the battle against the giants. As Aeschylus states (*Eum.* 737), with the exception of marriage she is “wholly for the male”. She guides heroes from the land of the Sun to the Underworld, and is even capable of bringing about their immortality. In the myth of Tydeus, wounded in the battle of the Seven Against Thebes, his patron goddess Athena is able to obtain from Zeus a *pharmakon*, or elixir of immortality, for her favourite hero.⁸ In prayers Athena is usually invoked just after her father and just before Apollo (*Il.* 16.97), and it is interesting that all three of these deities are empowered to use the aegis, shaking it to produce fear, in the *Iliad*.⁹ As Jane Harrison noted long ago, the three together represent an extreme manifestation of patriarchy.¹⁰

In Athens in the Archaic period Athena is transformed into a

⁶ See K. Synodinou, “The Relationship Between Zeus and Athena in the *Iliad*”, *Dodone* 15.2 (1986), 155-164. This close bond between Athena and Zeus is also evident from the fact that Athena wears his armour (*Il.* 5.736-742, 8.387) and sits beside him on Olympus (*Il.* 24.100).

⁷ For Athena's assistance to Zeus in relation to Heracles, see T. Papadopoulou, this volume.

⁸ For details of the Tydeus episode, see T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 517-518. See also A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek Art* (Kilchberg/Zurich: Akanthus, 1993), 34-36; J. Neils, “Reflections of Immortality: The Myth of Jason on Etruscan Mirrors”, in *Murlo and the Etruscans: Art and Society in Ancient Etruria*, ed. R. De Puma and J. P. Small (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 190-195.

⁹ For references to the aegis in the *Iliad*, see Gantz, *Early Greek Myth*, 84-85. See also N. Robertson, this volume.

¹⁰ J.E. Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), 500-502.

civic goddess, as exemplified by the famous and oft-quoted lines of Solon from the beginning of the sixth century:

This city of ours will never be destroyed by the planning
of Zeus, nor according to the wish of the immortal gods;
such is she, who, great hearted, mightily fathered (ὄβριμοπάτρη),
protects us,
Pallas Athena, whose hands are stretched out over our heads.¹¹

And from the end of the century comes the drinking song composed after the fall of the tyrants:

Pallas Tritogeneia, queen Athena
uphold this city and its citizens
free from pain and strife
and untimely death – you and your father (σύ τε καί πατήρ).¹²

Thus prayers on behalf of the city call upon not only Athena, but also her father.¹³ It is precisely this pairing that guarantees the well-being and prosperity of Athens.

In the fifth century, returning to *Eumenides*, Athena, in her attempt to placate the Furies, says: καὶ γὰρ πέποιθα Ζηνί (826). This line also can be variously translated as “I rely on Zeus” or “I have Zeus behind me”, or “I obey [i.e. am persuaded by] Zeus”. The proper interpretation depends on how one sees the goddess in this particular scene: as a dutiful daughter, a dependent fellow Olympian, or as an empowered equal. The next line, however, makes it clear that Athena enjoys a privileged relationship with this supreme Olympian which no other god can claim. She states: “I am the only god who knows the keys to the room where his thunderbolts are locked” (827-828). She is not simply suggesting that she can borrow this ultimate weapon from Zeus, as she claims in Euripides’ *Trojan Women*:

¹¹ Solon, fr. 4.1-4 in Dichl, *Anth. Lyr. Graec.*

¹² Ath. 15.694cff.; Page, *PMG* nos. 484ff.

¹³ An indication that the Athena-Zeus relationship is a construct of the Athenians appears in Herodotus 7.141.3, when the Delphic Oracle states that Athena has not quite the influence with Zeus that the Athenians suppose. However, when the Persians reached the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia at Delphi, thunderbolts and rock from Parnassus came crashing down on them (8.37).

He [Zeus] has promised my hand the gift of the blazing thunderbolt to dash and overwhelm the Achaean ships (80-81).

But rather she has direct access to the weapons of almighty Zeus, should she choose to use them. The modern equivalent is perhaps being entrusted with the secret code for the unleashing of nuclear warheads.

The fact that Athena alone has knowledge of this all-powerful secret implies that she has the *sophrosyne* to use it appropriately; unlike Hera for example, or Ares, she enjoys the trust of Zeus. As the daughter of Zeus and Metis she is endowed with that extra dose of wisdom which enables her to restrain herself and not let loose destruction on the world. At line 850, she says “Zeus gave me intelligence (φρονεῖν) not to be despised”. Having the greater wisdom, she, at the end of the *Eumenides*, rather than Apollo, the god of enlightenment and civilization,¹⁴ succeeds in reconciling the vengeful Furies. Her wisdom is deeper and more effective than the great intelligence of Apollo, and so she wins the day for Orestes, and Athens.

Clearly this special prerogative enjoyed by Athena – access to the thunderbolts of Zeus, the very mention of which can stop the dreaded Furies – is a not-so-subtle bit of Athenian propaganda, for we know it from no other source. It was Athens’ intention to grant their patron goddess special rights and privileges, and even more importantly a special intimacy with Zeus not enjoyed by the other Olympians. They in effect created an all-powerful hierarchy, as C.J. Herington suggested years ago: Zeus – Athena – Athens.¹⁵ At the end of the *Eumenides* the chorus reiterates a familiar refrain in stating that the city’s citizens enjoy proximity to the throne of Zeus, are beloved by the maiden he loves, and are sheltered under Athena’s wings (998-1002). The city, its patron, and her father create an invincible triumvirate.

¹⁴ On Apollo’s role in *Eumenides*, see A. Bierl, “Apollo in Greek Tragedy: Orestes and the God of Initiation”, in *Apollo: Origins and Influences*, ed. J. Solomon (Tucson and London: University of Arizona Press, 1994), 81-96.

¹⁵ C.J. Herington, “Athena in Athenian Literature and Cult”, in *Parthenos and Parthenon. Greece and Rome Suppl. to vol. X*, ed. G.T.W. Hooker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 63.

Religion and cult

This closeness and like-mindedness of Athena and Zeus are also made manifest by a number of common cult epithets and instances of joint worship, especially in the state cults of Athens. One of the oldest shrines outside the Acropolis was that of the Palladium in southeast Athens, discussed by Noel Robertson in this volume; here there were images of both Zeus and Athena.¹⁶ Not surprisingly, many of their shared epithets have civic or political overtones. As tutelary divinities of the city, they were invoked on the Acropolis as Zeus Polieus and Athena Polias.¹⁷ Zeus was, in fact, the only male deity to have his own shrine on the Acropolis; located at the summit of the outcrop, it lies just to the east of the Temple of Athena Polias.¹⁸ The Dipolieia, the festival of Zeus celebrated here, began early in Athenian history, just as the Panathenaea, the primary festival of Athena Polias. Its main rite, the *bouphonia*, is even said in one source to be Athena's festival.¹⁹ Another important state cult, the Diisoteria, took place annually at the harbour of the Piraeus and honoured Athena Soteira and Zeus Soter, as gods who provided good outcomes and safe voyages.²⁰ Pausanias (1.1.3) describes the Diisoterion as having bronze statues of Zeus holding a Nike and Athena with a spear, while Pliny (*NH* 34.74) states that the "marvellous Athena at the port of Athens" was made by Cephisodotus.²¹

¹⁶ On this shrine, see J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, vol. II (reprint New York: Biblio and Tannen, 1965), 370; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York: Praeger, 1971), 412-413. I thank Noel Robertson for these references.

¹⁷ They are similarly known as Athena Archegetis and Zeus Archegetes, or founder deities of the city. Since Athena Archegetis is probably interchangeable with Athena Polias, this epithet is not considered here. See J. Kroll, "The Ancient Image of the Athena Polias", in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture, and Topography. Hesp. Suppl.* XX (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies, 1982), 69.

¹⁸ On this shrine of Zeus Polieus and the ceremony conducted within it, see most recently J.M. Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 40, 190-191.

¹⁹ Scholiast on Ar. *Nub.* 985. See E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 8-12.

²⁰ See R. Garland, *The Piraeus* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1987), 137-138; R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 240.

²¹ On the sanctuary of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira, see Frazer, *Pausanias's Description*, 22-24. Some scholars identify the over life-size bronze Athena discovered beneath a street in the Piraeus in 1959 (Piraeus Museum 4646) as the Athena Soteira of Cephisodotus. See C. Mattusch, *Classical Bronzes: The Art and Craft of Greek and Roman*

Pausanias also mentions painted portraits of military heroes, indicating that the cult was associated with success in war as well as protection during navigation. In the Agora the bouleuterion had a shrine to Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia, and according to an inscription Athena and Zeus were invoked at meetings of the Boule.²² Finally, they shared in the cult of the individual phratries, the hereditary associations of every Athenian male citizen. Inscriptions show that Zeus Phratrios was regularly paired with Athena Phratria, as on an altar found in the Athenian Agora, which may indicate a central state cult for the two deities in addition to the local ones.²³

In the realm of agriculture Zeus and Athena also have a common interest and cult. Zeus is primarily a rain god, and Athena is credited with the gift of the olive tree to Attica.²⁴ As such she and Zeus were both given an epithet relating to tree cultivation, namely to the Moriai, or sacred olive trees. These trees, so important to the Attic economy, were under the protection of Athena Moria and Zeus Morios.²⁵ The strong association of these deities with the olive is not surprising given that olive crowns were awarded to victors at the Olympic games, while vessels filled with olive oil were the prizes at the Panathenaic festival in honour of Athena. The cult statue of the Athena Polias herself, "the holiest thing of all" (Paus. 1.26.6), was said to have been made of olive wood.²⁶

In addition to the olive, Athena and Zeus share other cult symbols. The snake, so closely associated with the Athenian myth of autochthony, is a symbol of Zeus Meilichios and appears often in con-

Statuary (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1996) 135-136. For another viewpoint, see O. Palagia, "Reflections on the Piraeus Bronzes", in *Greek Offerings: Essays on Greek Art in Honour of John Boardman*, ed. O. Palagia (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), 177-195.

²² The Bouleuterion shrine is mentioned by Antiphon (6.45). The prayer of the Boule to Olympian Zeus and Athena Polias among others is *Syll.*³ 181.

²³ S.D. Lambert, *The Phratries of Attica* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 208-211. The Agora altar, see *ibid.*, 357-358, T 24.

²⁴ For Zeus as an agricultural deity, see M.K. Langdon, *A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos*, *Hesp. Suppl.* XVI (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies, 1976), 79-87.

²⁵ R. Luyster, "Symbolic Elements in the Cult of Athena", *History of Religions* 5 (1965), 149. See also R.D. Cromey, "History and Images: The Penelope Painter's Akropolis (Louvre G372 and 480/79 BC)", *JHS* 111 (1991), 172.

²⁶ For Athena's association with the olive, see T. Ceccarini (ed.), *Athena, l'ulivo, l'aratro. Ecologia dell'intelligenza pratica e dell'abilità tecnica* (Velletri: Editrice Vela, 1997).

junction with Athena, most notably as part of the chryselephantine Athena Parthenos in the Parthenon.²⁷ A late fifth-century boundary stone found in Attica bears an inscription referring to a sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios and Athena,²⁸ and a lost relief depicting Athena and a snake has been associated with this cult site.²⁹ Likewise, this Parthenos statue and its counterpart in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia are 'Nikephoros', i.e. both bear a statue of Nike in their right hands. As the deities most closely connected with the goddess of victory, Zeus and Athena can bring victory to mortals, both in war and contest.³⁰ And, as has been noted above, both deities are closely associated with the aegis.³¹

Art

The discussion of symbols brings us to the realm of art. If Solon and Aeschylus inflated the position of Athena (and Athens) vis à vis her father, did artists do the same? A quick perusal of Karim Arafat's book, *Classical Zeus*, demonstrates that Athena accompanies her father in most of the major scenes involving the king of the gods in fifth-century Attic vase-painting.³² As might be expected from a virginal goddess, she is not depicted in Zeus' erotic pursuits and episodes such as the *hieros gamos* involving Hera.³³ But in Classical

²⁷ The snake, usually reconstructed as coiled within the shield under the left hand of the Athena Parthenos, may in fact have been used originally as a support beneath the right Nike-bearing hand of the goddess. For the newly discovered Parthenos token which supports this reconstruction, see J.M. Camp, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora 1994 and 1995", *Hesp.* 65 (1996), 241-242, pl. 70.

²⁸ *IG* I³ 1084. See S. Reinach, "Le Sanctuaire d'Athènes et de Zeus Meilichios à Athènes", *BCH* 16 (1892), 411-417.

²⁹ P. Wolters, "Deux Bas-Reliefs attiques disparus", *BCH* 18 (1894), 483-490.

³⁰ On Athena Nikephoros, see the chapter by A. Fanta in this volume.

³¹ Many of these elements are brought together for the protection of the infant Ion in Euripides' play of the same name and served as tokens for his eventual recognition: a blanket woven to represent the aegis of Athena, a golden pendant in the shape of two serpents, and a wreath of leaves from Athena's sacred olive tree (Eur. *Ion* 1417-1436). The association of these tokens with Athena suggests that one of her domains was the protection of the male children of the royal house. This point is argued by E.M. Hooker, "The Goddess of the Golden Image", in Hooker (ed.), *Parthenos and Parthenon*, 17-22.

³² K.W. Arafat, *Classical Zeus: A Study in Art and Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

³³ The one peculiar instance (Leipzig T 638) in which Athena seems to be running

Athenian art Athena is often her father's sole divine companion in the gigantomachy, and she springs from his head and leads Heracles into his presence just as she did earlier in Archaic art, although much more rarely and not after 460 BC in vase-painting. Zeus, somewhat unexpectedly, takes part in events wholly hers, such as the birth of Erichthonius, in fact usurping the rightful place of the biological father Hephaestus. And for the first time we find scenes of Athena alone with her father, displacing Iris, Nike, and Hebe, as his favoured libation-pourer.

Let us look at these points of contact in greater detail. The primary narrative depictions in which Athena and Zeus are intimately associated are: her birth, the gigantomachy, and the introduction of Heracles to Olympus. All of these scenes first appear in the Attic repertoire in the second quarter of the sixth century BC. It is surely not a coincidence that at exactly this time the major Athenian festival in honour of Athena, the Panathenaea, was reorganized.³⁴ The Greater Panathenaea, held every four years from 566 on, involved presenting a new peplos to the cult statue of the goddess; woven into it was a scene of the gods fighting the giants, which may well have inspired the long frieze-like gigantomachies found on Attic black-figure kraters and dinoi, many of which were dedicated on the Acropolis. Likewise, the Panathenaea may have inspired interest in the birth and introduction scenes, which both take place in Olympus and so also involve an assembly of Olympians. These narratives necessarily highlighted Athena's leading role among the gods.

To begin at the beginning, Athena's birth from the head of Zeus was particularly popular in sixth-century Attic vase-painting, although it is found as early as the seventh-century on a relief amphora from Tenos and as late as the east pediment of the Parthenon.³⁵ This myth, like the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, is a disaster-averting narrative; in both, the overthrow of the Olympians

away from Zeus (Arafat, *Zeus*, 81, no. 3.107, pl. 27), as if a victim of an erotic pursuit, should surely be read as the god sending his daughter on an errand, for which he offers a libation for an auspicious outcome (see Arafat, *Zeus*, 102, no. 4.58).

³⁴ On this festival, see J. Neils (ed.), *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (Hanover, NH: Hood Museum of Art/Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

³⁵ For representations of the birth of Athena, see F. Brommer, "Die Geburt der Athena", *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 8 (1961), 66-83, pls. 20-37; *LMC* 2 (1984), 985-990 s.v. Athena 334-378 (H. Cassimatis).

by a child prophesied to be greater than the father is prevented. Thetis is married off to Peleus instead of Zeus and produces a heroic son, Achilles, while Metis, pregnant with Athena, as we have seen above, is swallowed by Zeus. Both myths embody a guarantee of the stability of the universe, or as Karl Schefold has stated: "Something permanent and unshakeable had been won from the never-ending transformations of life".³⁶ A large red-figure cup of c. 500 BC, attributed to the Poseidon Painter, actually recognizes the link between these two myths since it depicts Peleus and Thetis on the side opposite the birth of Athena.³⁷ Athena's birth myth with its emphasis on mind (*metis*) over nature, and the masculine or paternal over the feminine and maternal serves to characterize the goddess from her inception.

In the many Athenian black-figure vases portraying this story Athena and Zeus are most often shown as one, visually acting as a single figure surrounded by birth-goddesses and Olympians. Together they form the central and tallest element in the composition, and so dominate narratively as well as visually. The frontal throne depicted on a black-figure vase in Richmond³⁸ and on the red-figure name vase of the Birth of Athena Painter in London³⁹ emphasizes this centrality even more emphatically. Athena's triumph is visually embodied in her tempestuous movement in contrast to the calm of the other assembled deities. These witnesses serve to highlight the importance and impact of the event, even if they do not react in quite the manner described in the *Homeric Hymn to Athena*: "great Olympus quaked dreadfully under the might of the grey-eyed goddess, as the earth round about resounded awesomely, and the sea moved and heaved with purple waves and Zeus the counsellor exulted".⁴⁰ Athena is always fully armed with helmet, shield and spear and is in a battle-ready or 'Promachos' pose.

This fighting pose is more fully realized on the Panathenaic Prize-amphorae, first produced in 570-560 BC, contemporaneous

³⁶ K. Schefold, *Gods and Heroes in Late Archaic Greek Art*, tr. A. Griffiths (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 9.

³⁷ London, British Museum E 15. Attributed to the Poseidon Painter: *ARI*² 136.1.

³⁸ Richmond, Virginia Museum of Art 1960.23. See Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, 145, cat. no. 1.

³⁹ London, British Museum E 410. *ARI*² 494.1. See Arafat, *Zeus*, 35-36, 187, no. 2.6

⁴⁰ *Homeric Hymn* 28.9ff. Tr. by A.N. Athanassakis, *The Homeric Hymns* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 66.

with the earliest Attic depictions of Athena's birth. For centuries on these prize oil containers, Athena stands her ground, spear in her raised right hand, flanked by two Doric columns surmounted by cocks.⁴¹ E. Simon has suggested that the cock columns are a reference to Zeus, specifically Zeus Polieus who, as we have seen, was worshipped together with Athena Polias on the Acropolis.⁴² The 'Promachos' pose is common to sculptural representations of both Zeus and Athena, occurring in individual statuettes (Pl. 17a,b), that perhaps reflect lost life-size prototypes.⁴³ Both stride forward, with the right arm raised and bent, holding a characteristic weapon, the spear for Athena and the thunderbolt for Zeus. This all-alert pose, signifying readiness for battle, well characterizes these gods' protective powers.

The pose is also prevalent in scenes of the gigantomachy. Vase-painters (and presumably also designers of the Panathenaic peplos) took the Solonian construct of Athena to heart in representing Athena and Zeus not only closely paired but also in similar poses.⁴⁴ Athena and Zeus fight side by side, and, just like the bronze statuettes, their poses often echo each other, with Zeus wielding his thunderbolt, and Athena her spear. Their giant opponents are nearly always shown in a helpless state, fallen and/or wounded. While Nike, along with a snake, is the attendant of Zeus on one of the earliest depictions of this myth on a fragmentary column-krater by Lydos,⁴⁵ in a Classical representation, east metope IV of the Parthenon, she has been transferred to Athena.⁴⁶ On a vase from

⁴¹ See Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, 29-34.

⁴² E. Simon, in *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978), 1415, s.v. Zeus.

⁴³ Just as Solon created an Athenian Athena, so artists of the period created an Attic typology for the goddess which eventually supplanted other types. On the other types, see B. Cohen, "The Early Greek Palladion: Two Bronze Statuettes in America", *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 55/56 (1997/1998), 11-25. For images of Athena in the Promachos pose, see H.G. Niemeyer, *Promachos. Untersuchungen zur Darstellung der bewaffneten Athena in archaischer Zeit* (Waldsassen: Stiftland, 1966); H.A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants at Athens* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1989), 28-29; and B.S. Ridgway, "Images of Athena on the Acropolis", in Neils, *Goddess and Polis*, 127-131. For Zeus Keraunios, see *LIMC* 8 (1997), 319-325, s.v. Zeus 27-33, 62-71 (M. Tiverios).

⁴⁴ References to the gigantomachy in Attic literature also often pair Zeus and Athena: cf. Eur. *Ion* 209ff. and 1528f., *Hec.* 466ff., *IT* 221ff.

⁴⁵ Athens, Acropolis Museum 631. *ABV* 108.6. See Schefold, *Gods and Heroes*, pl. 41b.

⁴⁶ See J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), fig. 89, metope 4.

Spina by the Niobid Painter, Zeus' thunderbolt actually comes to the aid of Athena, while Zeus fights with a spear.⁴⁷ Thus, Nike and the thunderbolt (Victory and destruction) come to be associated with Athena as well as with her mighty father.

The third element in this winning team is, of course, Heracles, without whom the giants could not be conquered. Heracles, the son of Zeus, is the protégé of Athena in Attic sculpture and vase-painting, and it would appear that on the Archaic Acropolis there was a programmatic and perhaps politically motivated approach to his glorification in temple sculpture. Heracles, Athena, and Zeus together appear in the small pediment of c. 560 BC showing the hero's apotheosis.⁴⁸ In black-figure vase-painting, too, there are some 150 extant images of Heracles entering Olympus, most commonly by chariot, but also on foot as on the pediment. While in early vase-painting, as on a Siana cup in the British Museum,⁴⁹ the scene is peopled with as many Olympians as will fit, in the fifth century the narrative is concentrated on the three primary participants. In either case the motive is clear: only Athena has the power to bring a mortal into the presence of the enthroned Zeus.⁵⁰

Although Boardman has demonstrated a Peisistratid agenda in chariot scenes of apotheosis, one might also see it in more general or universal terms.⁵¹ Heracles, like the Athenians, thrived under the patronage of Athena. She supported him in all of his earthly endeavours and served as the conduit for his immortality by conveying him to Olympus. Rather like another famous Virgin she acted as intercessor between the human and the divine realms. In these popular images Heracles can be seen as a kind of Athenian Everyman whose good life on earth is rewarded with an entrée into heaven.

⁴⁷ Ferrara, Museo archeologico di Spina 2891. *ARI*² 602.24. See Arafat, *Zeus*, 186, no. 1.69, pl. 5a.

⁴⁸ See J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), fig. 194.

⁴⁹ London, British Museum B 379. *ABV* 60.20.

⁵⁰ C. Léduc, "Athéna et Héraklès: une parenté botanique?" in *II^e Rencontre Héracléenne: Héraclès, Les Femmes et le Féminin*, ed. C. Jourdain-Annequin and C. Bonnet (Brussels: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1996), 259-266, argues for a close botanical connection between Athena, Heracles and Zeus based on their respective associations with the *kotinos*, or wild olive.

⁵¹ J. Boardman, "Herakles, Peisistratos and Sons", *RA* (1972), 57-72. On such chariot scenes, see now R.H. Sinos, "Divine Selection: Epiphany and Politics in Archaic Greece", in *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece: Cult, Performance, Politics*, ed. C. Dougherty and L. Kurke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 73-91.

When Athena is shown serving Heracles from an oinochoe she is perhaps offering him the elixir of immortality obtained from Zeus (the same that she obtained but did not use for Tydeus).⁵² This short-hand scene demonstrates that the immortal child of Zeus tends the mortal son and eventually rewards him with immortality, a reward the Athenians also sought from their patron goddess, as evidenced by the lines of Solon quoted above.

Let us turn now to the most developed expression of the iconography of Zeus and Athena, the sculpture of the Parthenon. They are represented three times on the east facade of the temple: fighting the giants in the east metopes, starring in the birth of Athena in the east pediment, and attending the Panathenaic festival in the east frieze. We have already mentioned east metope IV in which Athena is accompanied by Nike. Although these relief sculptures are in very poor condition, Zeus is probably given a central position (metope VIII). The presence of Helios in the northernmost metope indicates that dawn is approaching and so the fight is at an end with the Olympians victorious. Likewise in the east pediment, Athena is not emerging from the head of Zeus, but is now calmly standing at his side.⁵³ Although the reverberations from her birth are still being felt by the gods at the corners of the pediment, the action again has been satisfactorily concluded.

The east frieze is more problematic because the two groups of Olympian deities are separated from each other and because they seem to have their backs to the main event, the peplos ceremony. Zeus is directly to the left and Athena to the right of this central scene, so they are given prominence within the assembly of gods, but they seem to be awkwardly separated. It is clear that the designer of the frieze was wrestling in this instance with a particular spatial problem; what the viewer is presented with is the artist's solution and what needs to be determined is the original configuration that the designer was attempting to convey. If we imagine the twelve seated gods as acknowledging the procession (as Aphrodite clearly

⁵² See examples in *LMC* 2 (1984), 974-975 s.v. Athena (P. Demargne).

⁵³ For the various reconstructions see O. Palagia, *The Pediments of the Parthenon* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993), and ead., "First Among Equals: Athena in the East Pediment of the Parthenon", in *The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome*. Studies in the History of Art 49, ed. D. Buitron-Oliver (Washington: National Gallery, 1997), 29-49. Palagia's most recent reconstruction puts Athena to the viewer's left of a central standing Zeus.

does) *and* as witnessing the peplos ceremony as surely they must, then a seating plan needs to be devised that takes into account these two events. An arrangement that acknowledges both of these foci is a semicircle, as suggested in 1892 by A.H. Smith.⁵⁴ With this spatial arrangement the peplos ceremony can be read as taking place in the centre and the procession as arriving in two streams at the two ends of the arc of seated gods (Pl. 18a). This seating plan takes into account *both* the two files of processors *and* the ceremony.⁵⁵

This configuration has the additional advantage of bringing what is separated visually together: namely Athena and Zeus. We can now see that they are sitting, as they should be, side by side.⁵⁶ Just as they are together in the pediment above, so they are together here on the frieze, and again the mission has been accomplished: the peplos has been presented and is now being folded for storage. The three narratives we have been examining that bring Zeus and Athena together – her birth, the gigantomachy, and a procession – are brilliantly combined here on the east facade of the Parthenon. The strongly politicized message of Athena's intimacy with Zeus that begins with Solon here finds its finest artistic manifestation: Athena, Zeus, and all the gods look kindly on Athens and assure its invincibility.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ A.H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum I* (London: British Museum, 1892), 157. See also A.H. Smith, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* (London: British Museum, 1910), 51.

⁵⁵ A more detailed discussion of this arrangement, with further arguments, can be found in J. Neils, "Reconfiguring the Gods on the Parthenon Frieze", *Art Bulletin* 81 (1999), 6-20.

⁵⁶ In many instances in Athenian vase painting Athena sits beside her father, as she does also in the *Iliad* (24.100).

⁵⁷ The title of this paper was inspired by L. Preller who called Athena Zeus' alter ego. I wish to thank Susan Deacy and Alexandra Villing for inviting me to the well organized and intellectually stimulating Athena conference at Lincoln College and for providing many helpful references in the final writing of this paper. I also warmly thank my colleague in the Classics Department at Case Western Reserve University, Angeliki Tzanetou, for discussion of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, and Noel Robertson for providing additional references.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SEXY ATHENA: THE DRESS AND EROTIC REPRESENTATION OF A VIRGIN WAR-GODDESS

Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones

This chapter is about dress and the power and language of clothes, and specifically the clothing of the goddess Athena. It is not concerned with Greek art *per se*, but instead it concentrates on fabric, garments, and what art historians insist on calling ‘drapery’, and on how fabric and dress reveals and conceals the body. It is concerned with the semiotics of dress.

To choose the clothes we wear is to define ourselves, because we all reveal and conceal aspects of our personalities by what we select for any given occasion. After all, in the words of Oscar Wilde, “It is only shallow people who do not judge from appearances. The true mystery of the world is the visible, not the invisible”.¹

As such, psychologists have worked towards decoding the hidden language of clothes for many decades, although arguably the greatest advances were made in 1930 by the psychiatrist John C. Flügel, who, in his ground-breaking study, *The Psychology of Clothes*, proposed that clothing has several fundamental motives that can be traced back to the earliest human societies: those of protection, modesty, and eroticization, although he also stated that clothing can act as a symbolic signal of a person’s rank and occupation, of locality and nationality, as a display of wealth, and as an extension of the bodily self. Dress also helps characterize the state of a group, its unity and harmony or its dysfunction and opposition; it is a true ‘mirror of history’.²

It will be an interesting experiment to take this opportunity to examine the dress of Athena and its development in fifth-century Athens in the light of Flügel’s dress theories. What is particularly

¹ Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Grey*, 1891.

² J.C. Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (London: Hogarth Press, 1930, 4th edn. 1966).

fascinating about Athena's clothing in this era is that it falls neatly into many of Flügel's categories for classifying the role of clothing in society as protective, modest, or erotic, while the depiction of the dress of the patron goddess of Athens also sheds light on the ideology of the city throughout the fifth century. The dress of Athena becomes a useful tool in understanding the ideology of Athens.

Since clothing can offer us a unique insight into the psychology of not only an individual but of a society as a whole, it is surprising to realize that outside the realm of fashion history proper, the study of dress as an indicator of a society's mores has been almost entirely neglected by ancient historians who, despite several generations of scholarship attempting to provide potted histories of classical dress (some of which fall short of the mark of being in any sense of the word scholarly)³ and providing learned articles on the construction and draping of Greek and Roman clothing, have only infrequently attempted to investigate the study of dress within its wider background of Graeco-Roman civilization.⁴ However, things are beginning to change; Larissa Bonfante and Julia Sebesta's commendable work, *Roman Costume*, has pooled together in a single volume the latest research into dress in the Roman world, and the publication has begun to address some of the issues of the semiotic approach to ancient clothing.⁵ The only comparable accounts given over to *Greek* dress, however, are scattered throughout journals and art-related studies: Georges Losfeld has provided two useful, but underrated volumes which deal with the etymological, social, and artistic background to the study of Greek dress, while A.G. Geddes analyzed the dress of Athenian men in the context of Athens' inward-looking democratic ideology in a useful and thought-provoking article. Her insights contrast well with the recent work of Margaret Miller who has studied the concept of the Persianization of Athenian culture and the increasing demand for luxury dress throughout the classical

³ M. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume* (London: A. and C. Black, 1931, 2nd edn. 1947), for example, has little scholarly value despite its popularity.

⁴ Among the more interesting attempts to reconstruct Greek clothing from a purely practical viewpoint is E.B. Harrison, "The Dress of the Archaic korai", in *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art*, ed. D. Buitron-Oliver (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1991), 217-239.

⁵ J.L. Sebesta and L. Bonfante (eds.), *The World of Roman Costume* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994).

period.⁶ Add to these the stimulating interpretative work of art historian Andrew Stewart and we have, it seems, almost the entire sum of scholarly activity on dress as an indicator of society to date.⁷

Before taking a look at Athena's dress, it is necessary to spend a little time speculating on the form and function of clothing in Greek art. It has often been commented that Classical clothing, 'drapery', exists to reveal the body to its best advantage and to accent its contours and its movements. Classical Greek culture was able to develop its perception of wrapped woollen and linen cloth into an abiding source of aesthetic delight, not only for itself but for later generations of artists, art connoisseurs, fashion designers and fashion-lovers who believed that such renditions of cloth could not be surpassed.⁸

Woollen garments were created at home within Greek households of all classes, through every stage of production from carding to weaving, and it is important to remember that clothes were woven into rectangles to fit the individual wearer according to length, but they were never cut or sewn nor did they achieve a body-hugging shape.⁹ Linen was used as well as wool, and even in the fifth century there is evidence for the use of silk that would certainly have provided artists with the opportunity to recognize and record endless varieties of thin, soft folds, worn in layers.¹⁰ Sophistication, sexual allure, power, and austerity could all be expressed by the style in which simple rectangles of fabrics were disposed around the body, and numerous and sometimes elaborate conventions ma-

⁶ G. Losfeld, *Essai Sur Le Costume Grec* (Paris: Éditions De Boccard, 1991); id., *L'Art Grec Et Le Vêtement* (Paris: Éditions De Boccard, 1994); A.G. Geddes, "Rags and Riches: The Costume of Athenian Men in the Fifth Century", *Classical Quarterly* 37 (1987), 307-331; M. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century. A Study in Cultural Receptivity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). See also L. Llewellyn-Jones (ed.), *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World* (London: Duckworth/Classical Press of Wales, forthcoming 2001), and S. Blundell, G. Davies, L. Llewellyn-Jones, and K. Stears, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Dress* (London: Routledge, forthcoming 2003).

⁷ A. Stewart, *Art, Desire and the Body in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁸ See in particular A. Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975, 4th edn. 1993).

⁹ On the process, see especially E.J. Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

¹⁰ M. Miller, *Athens and Persia*, 77-79; Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 32, 204; K. Kübler, "Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos", *AA* 51 (1936), 181-208.

tured, receded, and co-existed both for wearing these clothes and, more intriguingly, for representing them.

Awareness of cloth and clothes and (via women) first-hand knowledge of how to make them had an effect on the artists who represented them because they were clearly aware of the limitations of cloth – the fact that linen ‘bags’ and becomes saggy, and that wool is opaque and can be heavy – but artists and public alike must also have dwelt with delight on the beauty and flexibility of fabrics, since everyone had direct experience of cloth every time they got dressed. The charm of fabric must have had no less an appeal to the artistic imagination than the loveliness of the nude.

The Greeks’ fascination with abstract clothing is, of course, most conspicuous in Archaic sculpture, where bodies and clothes are both wrought into patterns. The dainty and regular pleating of the dresses worn by the sixth-century *korai* is next to impossible to duplicate in actual cloth, principally because they are fine examples of what dress historians term ‘fashion and reality’, in other words, the difference between an idealized image of what dress *should be* and the practical reproduction of what it *really is* – a concept that is familiar to anyone who has flicked through a fashion magazine where the fashion models and the clothes they wear bear little resemblance to the way that clothes hang on oneself. Much the same is true of clothing in Greek art and it seems to me that the actual garments of the Archaic age were casually wrapped around the living body and only the representations of dress in art required such inflexible formality.

The striking fact that Archaic male statues are often entirely naked, whereas female figures seem completely dressed, also has its origins in custom. Since notions of modesty, seclusion, and status demanded that women be clothed (in several layers), artists had to develop distinct techniques for representing the two sexes in sculpture, and while male nudity became an area where artistic alertness could dwell with great intensity, the hidden Archaic female body, a more inactive and elementary shape, was inseparable from its formal clothing, somehow ineligible for life without its adornment – like Aeschylus’ statue of Helen, devoid of desire in its lack of eyes.¹¹ When ancient reports mention the phenomenon of Greeks becoming confused by the life-like quality of statues and believing

¹¹ Aesch., *Ag.* 417-418.

them capable of movement, it is important to remember that the illusion of 'real-life' statues is attested for animals and naked males (especially athletes). They wear no sculpted clothes and their bodies are unencumbered by cloth, allowing their flesh to appear to breathe and even perspire. There are no reports from the Archaic or Classical periods, as far as I am aware, of seeing statues of women come to life. Why? Because, I suggest, the sociological necessity of 'clothing' statues of women in artistic renditions of daily-dress shattered the illusion of reality. It is only following the introduction of large-scale nude female statuary in the fourth century that reports are made of the lifelike qualities of the unclothed *female* sculpted body.¹²

It is this female body, the perfect body of the παρθένος, by custom requiring a concealing dress, that made clothing a sculptural necessity for the Greeks. The desirable *naked* male body, so well encapsulated in the Parthenon frieze, delights the gaze of the viewer (indeed, if we follow Andrew Stewart's recent analysis, of the collective gaze of a unified city)¹³ and the naked horse-riders on the frieze wear their clothes as mere backdrops to frame the body, but for centuries the female shape had to show *through* clothes or not appear at all. The cloth which could exist separately of the male body had to be used to help model female shapes, and so it is that we have the evolution of the overwhelming diversity of clothed female figures in Greek sculpture – Nikai in action, deities in repose, women fastening brooches, clutching robes, and veiling and unveiling their faces.

Separate conventions existed in Classical art for the painted two-dimensional rendering of dress and, although related to the sculpture of the period, it was conceived on its own terms and was never made to look as though it had been carved. On Greek vase paintings the lines denoting hanging pleats or bunched material often appear unnatural when compared with sculptured solutions to the same problems dating from the same period.

¹² For a discussion of the illusion of lifelike statues of men, see N. Spivey, "Bionic Statues", in *The Greek World*, ed. A. Powell (London: Routledge, 1995), 442-459. For statues of animals, see *Anth. Graec.* 9. 717, 734, 731, 737, 793, 738. On the ancient reaction of male viewers to the realistic portrayal of the female nude, see Lucian, *Am.* 13ff. cf. *Anth. Graec.* 16.160. Ovid seems to suggest that the focus of Pygmalion's desire was the *naked* sculpture of a woman, since he was in the habit of dressing the statue in robes and jewellery: *Met.* 10.262ff.

¹³ Stewart, *Art, Desire*, 63-85.

It is important to realize that in trying to analyze the social reality of clothing we have a basic problem, because we are never really sure that what we see represented as 'dress' by Greek artists is necessarily what was worn in Greek life. Yet in a way this might be thought irrelevant to the process of probing for social meaning behind the dress of Athena, since, after all, Athena, like all Greek deities, was a construct of the Greek mind and could be depicted as taste dictated. What is particularly appealing about the representation of the dress of goddesses from the Archaic to the Classical periods is that they are always portrayed *à la mode*, that is to say, their styles of dress reflect the contemporary fashion trends of mortal women. This may appear trivial, but in the wider scope of representing deities, it is quite revolutionary; Egypt, for example, had a long-established way of depicting goddesses in an ageless and otherworldly fashion, in which their garments did not follow current fashionable trends but remained static and unchanging. Egyptian goddesses, such as Isis and Hathor, continued to wear an Old Kingdom garment known to dress historians as the 'sheath dress' long after it expired from contemporary fashion at the end of the Middle Kingdom, although it was still to be found worn by goddesses well into the Graeco-Roman age (Figs. 1 and 2).¹⁴ This phenomenon marks out the goddesses as an enduring and abiding element in the unsteady world of Graeco-Egyptian society.

In contrast, Greek goddesses move with the times, and all of them have a noticeable modification in the iconographic portrayal of their dress by the late sixth century. This is part of a wider process, beginning in the fifth century, of what some scholars have termed *Daseinsbilder*, or life-images, whereby deities are not bound to the formal qualities that had been created in Archaic art, but are often free to be represented as individual characters emancipated from the restraints of mythological narrative. Deities are able to display personal traits not only in attributes but also in clothing, and it is this portrayal of dress that helps enable us to understand the mood and nature of a society's perception of a divinity.¹⁵ So closely

¹⁴ For Egyptian dress, see G. Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1993), 181-183, and G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993).

¹⁵ N. Himmelmann, "Some Representations of the Gods in Classical Art", in *Reading Greek Art. Essays by Nikolaus Himmelmann*, ed. W. Childs (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 103-138.

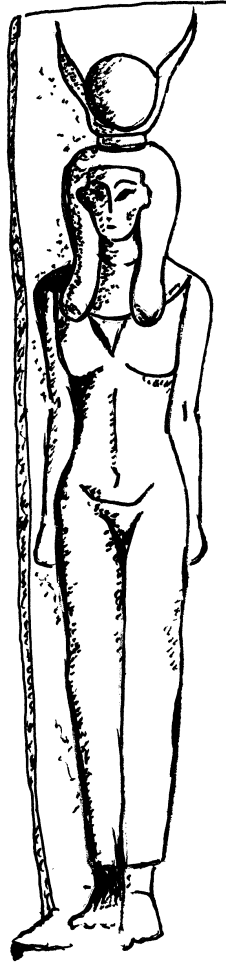


Fig. 1 Old Kingdom Egyptian goddess in sheath dress.

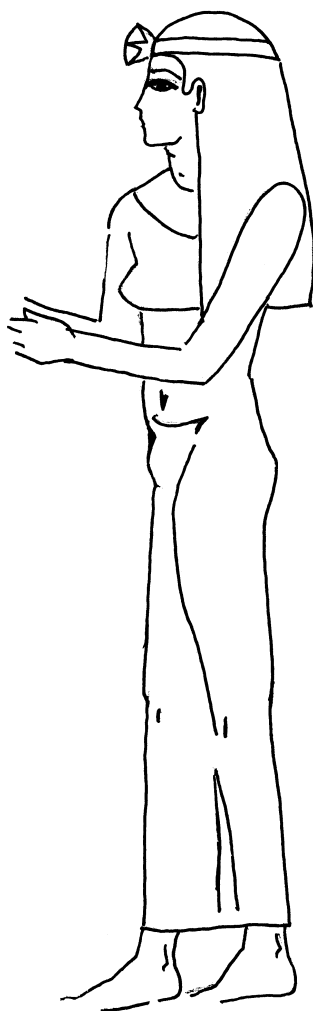


Fig. 2 Ptolemaic Nile-goddess in sheath dress.

is she linked to Athens, that Athena and her dress can help lead the way in reflecting the mood of the city and its people.

During the first quarter of the fifth century, an age when the Persian threat to Athenian independence was mounting and finally came to fruition in 480 when the Persians sacked the city and, as Burkert puts it, "Athena's veils were loosened",¹⁶ it is perhaps no surprise to find Athena fully armed, warding off the threat while preserving her own virgin state. There is little or no eroticization of Athena's form or dress here (nor indeed of any goddess of the period) and, in fact, protective clothing, weaponry, αἰγίς and πέπλος are central to the imagery of this pre-Periclean goddess (Pls. 18b and 19). In the artworks she springs forth from the head of Zeus fully armed, and, as Nicole Loraux has noted, her armoury is itself a type of vestment – the spear is a tunic, the shield is a cloak.¹⁷ These artefacts are so central to Athena that they become part of her conventional garb, but what they tend to do on a metaphorical level is to distance the gaze of the viewer from the body of the viewed. The αἰγίς works in the same way because it protects Athena's body while obscuring her physical form. She cannot be wounded in battle because it acts as another body overlaying her own. In fact, the Homeric depiction of the αἰγίς sees it as *another* skin – a goatskin or else the skin of the Gorgon, or of a giant similarly named Pallas.¹⁸

Then there is the πέπλος, the symbol of female finery *par excellence* and one that is intrinsically bound up with the goddess and her imagery.¹⁹ Athena Ergane is the patron deity of weaving and garment making and as such she covers her body in multiple layers so that even when divested of her shield, her body is indistinguishable from the clothing that covers it to such an extent that it lacks any traces of contours except those formed by the πέπλος.

This whole ensemble fits in perfectly with Flügel's conception of

¹⁶ W. Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, tr. J. Raffan (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), 140.

¹⁷ N. Loraux, *The Experiences of Tiresias. The Feminine and the Greek Man*, tr. P. Wissing (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 221.

¹⁸ The αἰγίς as the Gorgon's skin: Eur. *Ion* 987-997; as the skin of Pallas the Giant: Clem. Al. *Protr* 2.28.2.

¹⁹ Loraux, *Tiresias*, 125ff. For the πέπλος see especially R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Frühklassische Peplosfiguren – Originale* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1980), and B.S. Ridgway, "The Fashion of the Elgin Kore", *John Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984), 29-57. See also, Losfeld, *Essai*, 210ff.

dress as *protection*, a notion of controlling outward forces by layering the body in blankets of clothing and, occasionally, an apotropaic talisman, of which the αἰγίς is a prime example. Furthermore, the martial invincibility of the goddess is reinforced by the thickness and tightness of her dress whereby the real protective value of thick clothes against certain physical dangers, including sexual violation, is unconsciously extended to the moral sphere. The symbolic equation of physical stiffness and 'uprightness' with moral integrity and firmness can be balanced by the use of slack, disorderly, and limp clothing with corresponding ways of life. The connection of dress with tightness is equally readily transferable to the moral sphere.

This depiction of stiff, tight, protective clothing is designed to suggest physical, social, and moral dominance; in essence it is a *masculine* look, and traditionally the qualities that make men attractive are size and strength. Men's garments tend to enlarge the body through use of strong colours and bulky fabrics, and to emphasize angularity with rectangular shapes and sharp points. They call attention to well developed leg, shoulder and arm muscles and increase the width of shoulders and chest.²⁰ This is precisely the outline encountered in the early portrayals of Athena; by drawing on these conventions, the true body of Athena is hidden from view and is over-layered by a deceptively off-putting masculine frame.

The protective elements of Athena's clothes are closely linked with her dress as a *moral* safeguard. On a red figure amphora by the Nikoxenos Painter, dating to around 500 BC (Fig. 3),²¹ Athena has shed her αἰγίς and her helmet, and while her garment follows closely the lines of the curve of her back and the bulge of her well-developed calf, the deep folds of cloth emerging from her torso completely mask her form so that there is no hint of the body beneath, and the only glimpse of flesh we are allowed is that revealed on her upper-arm by the placement of pins along the edge of her robe. This depiction provides a good example for Flügel's theory of *modest* dress: even when she removes the *protective* aspects of the clothing, the war goddess still obscures her virgin body beneath her *modest* clothes.

Ideally, the body of the virgin, which was so admired and desired,

²⁰ A. Lurie, *The Language of Clothes* (London: Bloomsbury, 1981), 214.

²¹ University Museums, The University of Mississippi 1977.3.115. *ARV*² 221.6; *LIMC* 2 (1984), 1010-1011 s.v. Athena 582.

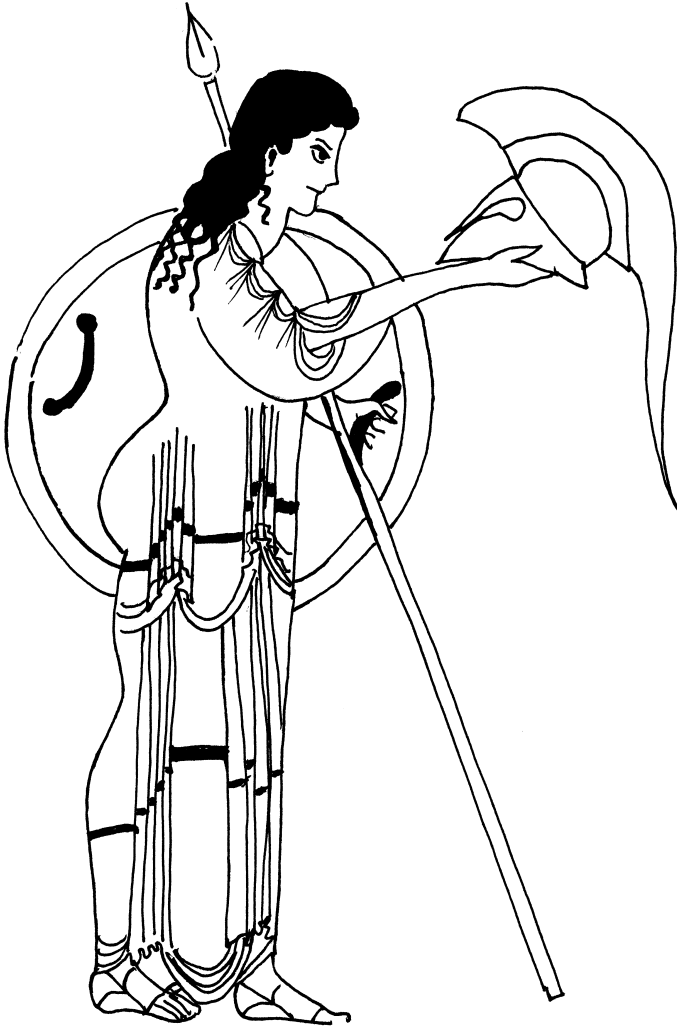


Fig. 3 Red-figure amphora by the Nikoxenos Painter, *c.* 500 BC. University Museums, The University of Mississippi 1977.3.115.

needed to be hidden away beneath protective layers of clothing and veils because it was important for any decent woman to maintain her sense of αἰδώς under multiple layers of cloth.²² Modesty in dress was needed as much to conceal the virgin's own integrity as it was to ensure her safety. According to Greek myth, to uncover the virgin and to glimpse her naked body could be devastating.²³ Correspondingly, the fifth-century mythographer, Pherecydes of Athens, and later Callimachus, relate how the prophet Tiresias saw *the* forbidden virgin body, that of Athena herself, and went blind.²⁴ Thus, in Greek representation, the body of Athena is never completely divested of its clothing and in fact, as we have seen, she is recognized most often in the minds of the Greeks by her full protective wrappings of αἰγίς and πέπλος. Thus, when women and young girls – such as Phye and the Machlyite maidens – are costumed as Athena in real-life events, this is the outfit that they wear.²⁵ The reluctance of Athena to display her body is evident in the *Iliad* when the goddess prepares herself for battle by swiftly slipping out of her feminine πέπλος into her more masculine χιτῶν in the blinking of an eye, so that nothing is glimpsed of the virgin body beneath, and there is no place for dwelling on what happens in the moments between the πέπλος hitting the floor and the fastening of the χιτῶν.²⁶

A similar prudery is apparent in the real-life festivals of the

²² D.L. Cairns, "Off with her αἰδώς: Herodotus 1.8.3-4", *Classical Quarterly* 46.1 (1996), 78-83.

²³ Loraux, *Tiresias*, 215.

²⁴ Pherecydes' version is commented on in two sources (=Jacoby, *FGrHist* I 3 F 92): Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.7; Schol. *Od.* 10.493. For a good discussion, see A.W. Bulloch, *Kallimachus: The Fifth Hymn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 18-19.

²⁵ Phye: Hdt. 1.60. See also, W.R. Connor, "Tribes, Festivals and Processions: Civic Ceremonial and Political Manipulation in Archaic Greece", *JHS* 107 (1987), 40-50. Compare Xenophon of Ephesos' Ephesian story of Anthia and Habrocomes (*Ephesia* 1.2.2ff.), where the heroine, Anthia, dresses as Artemis. On the appearance of the priestess of Athena dressed as the goddess in full armour see Polyaeus *Strat.* 8.59. See further, N. Robertson, this volume p. 36, and id., "Athena and Early Greek Society: palladium shrines and promontory shrines", in *Religion in the Ancient World: New Approaches*, ed. M. Dillon (Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert, 1996), 383-475, esp. 419-423. Not all sources agree that it was the priestess who dressed as the goddess. Machlyite maidens: Hdt. 4.180. See further, W.W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus with Introduction and Appendixes* Vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), 360.

²⁶ Hom. *Il.* 8.385-389 and 5.734-737. See Loraux, *Tiresias*, 142-143. The swiftness of Athena's dressing can be compared to the leisurely toilette of Hera and Aphrodite who use the act of dressing, like an arming warrior, as a weapon that will ultimately weaken a victim. See Hom. *Il.* 14.175ff; *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 58-65, 86-91; cf. *Od.* 8.363-366.

Πλυντήρια and the Καλλυντήρια. These elaborate cleansing ceremonies of an ancient statue of Athena were particular to Athens, and while statues of deities were cared for in many ways throughout Greece, it would seem that no other cleansing and adorning ritual ever constituted a whole festival to equal the Athenian rites (although we should not rule out the possibility). During this period of ill-omen, it seems that a robe was removed from a statue of the goddess and a veil was then discreetly placed over the image while the dress was washed. Once the robe was dry, the goddess was re-clothed and decorated, but nothing of the naked image of the goddess was allowed to be seen, and her chastity was preserved by the veil that covered her and acted as a screen to the mortal gaze.²⁷

At Argos, where a similar but more spontaneous rite was enacted, the image of Athena was carried by women from the main temple on the Larisa to the river Inachos to bathe. This image seems to have been stripped of its clothes beforehand, since the Argive men were warned away from the ritual at its outset lest they, like Tiresias, see the naked goddess and go blind.²⁸

Athena's modesty is in marked contrast to her fellow virgin-goddess, Artemis, who loves bathing and delights in her own body which she willingly and frequently reveals to the gaze of her nymphs. Her naked body is fundamental to her provocative kind of chastity that so rouses Actaeon's desire, although in Nonnos' *Dionysiaca*, the dying Actaeon expounds on the theme, suggested in Callimachos, of Athena's gentleness compared to Artemis' cruelty when he cries,

ὄλβιε Τειρεσία, σὺ γὰρ ἔδρακες ἐκτὸς ὀλέθρου
 γυμνὸν ἀναινομένης οἰκτίρμονος εἶδος Ἀθήνης·
 οὐ θάνες...

Happy Tiresias! For you have seen, without perishing,
 Athena's naked form, reluctant but pitiful. You did not die!²⁹

²⁷ N. Robertson, "Athena's Shrines and Festivals", in *Worshipping Athena. Panathenaia and Parthenon*, ed. J. Neils (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 27-77, esp. 48-52. For cleansing and adorning festivals of Athena and other deities, see J.M. Mansfield, *The Robe of Athena and the Panathenaic Peplos* (PhD University of California, Berkeley: Ann Arbor, UMI, 1985), 370-378, 438-587.

²⁸ Paus. 2.15.5; Callim. *Hymn* 5.49-54.

²⁹ Nonnus, *Dion.* 5.337-339.

Nonetheless, Athena takes no pleasure in her own nudity; she is born clothed and armed and *presumably* only removes her clothing for her first bath in the waters of Lake Tritonis where she is attended by the Libyan nymphs.³⁰

Therefore, in the opening decades of the fifth century, we have an image of Athena's clothing that helps promote her as a masculine-like warrior, both defensive and offensive, protecting her city and herself from attack and violation. Her armour creates a warrior silhouette, while the draped layers of her πέπλος underneath masks the contours of her virgin body. However, following the Persian defeat of Athens and the establishment of the Delian League, we begin to find a new emphasis in the dress of Athena: while she continues to retain aspects of her protective and modest apparel, her dress also begins to take on decidedly erotic undertones. By the late 480s, the depiction of garments in relation to the female body begins to change, and whilst goddesses are the obvious candidates for the demonstration of this new artistic 'look', coincidentally, it is Athena herself who literally takes the first ambitious stride forward into the new rendering of drapery-body assimilation. The marble standing Athena dedicated by Angelitos on the Athenian Acropolis in about 480 BC sees an innovation in the depiction of dress (Fig. 4); she stands with a free right leg in a new pose, with the drapery of her gown revealing the contours beneath.³¹ Prior to this period, it was female backs and buttocks that had been the focus of interest (and even Athena had succumbed to this vogue) but now the emphasis shifts to the front of the dress and is aimed at the legs. Once again, another hypothesis of Flügel's comes into play. He expounded the theory of the 'shifting erogenous zone', a system whereby certain parts of the body – sometimes parts with no direct sexual appeal, like the waist, the back, or the nape of the neck – become temporarily imbued with immense sexual attraction. This seems to be the case in the dress of Athena during this period, as the emphasis shifts from back and buttocks to legs and, to a certain extent, breasts. But this change is transitory in itself and it is evident that the erogenous zone is set to change again.

The Angelitos Athena raises her right arm to hold a spear, and it is worth noting that the sculptor does not allow any hint of flesh to

³⁰ Ap. Rhod. 4.1309-1311.

³¹ J.G. Pedley, *Greek Art and Archaeology* (London: Cassell, 1993), 218.

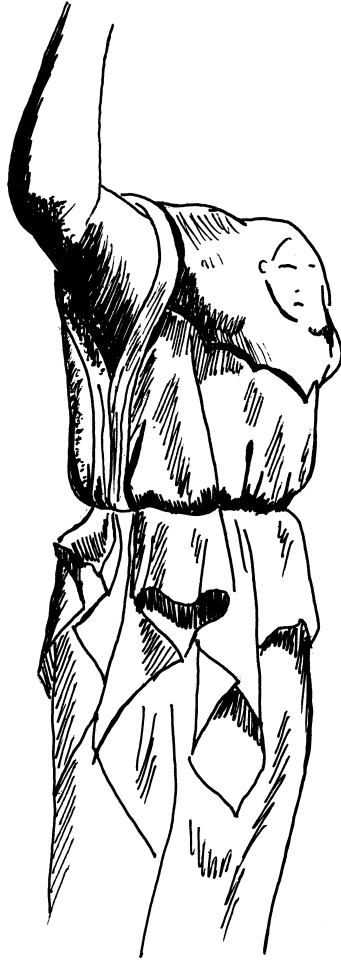


Fig. 4 Angelitos Athena (detail). Athens, Acropolis Museum 140, *c.* 480 BC.



Fig. 5 'Mourning Athena'. Athens Acropolis Museum 695, *c.* 470 BC.

be seen, which should be revealed at the side of the torso when the arm is raised in this position. Instead we are left with a 'blank space' neither revealing the flesh nor trying to imitate folds of cloth. This area beneath the arm where the πέπλος naturally falls open becomes something of a problem in representations of Athena for at least the next thirty years and seems to indicate that this could be the next zone of interest. We see a similar rendition in the 'Mourning Athena' of c. 470 BC (Fig. 5); again the πέπλος falls in heavy, regular folds, emphasising her breasts. The right side of the goddess's open πέπλος falls in a waterfall pleat that hangs away from the torso; the sewn-up left side, however, is artificially brought around to conceal what would otherwise be an open area between her left arm and her torso.

The three complete depictions of Athena on the metopes from the temple of Zeus at Olympia show the goddess in similar garb (Fig. 6).³² These severe Doric images of Athena exhibit her in youthful form; in the east side metope showing the tenth labour of Heracles, Athena wears the Doric πέπλος girded under the overfall.³³ Her body, turned towards the viewer, is veiled by the cloth of her dress, but again the breasts are deliberately rendered and, like Angelitos' Athena, her right leg moves forward, dragging the fabric of the skirt with it. But here again the sewn-up side of the πέπλος is artificially suspended in the air allowing no glimpse of the nude torso beneath. In fact, the drapery is pulled together in order to facilitate complete security, an artificially forced 'modesty treatment'.

The Roman marble copy of the bronze statue type commonly identified as Athena Lemnia by Phidias, dating to around 450 BC,³⁴ continues the erotic development of the goddess; now, however, the legs are shrouded by the soft, natural folds of the πέπλος, while more erotic emphasis is placed on the goddess's bosom, as the αἰγίς

³² Despite not being created in Athens for Athenians, these images are important sources of study for the development of Athena's image throughout the 460s BC. See R. Lullies, *Greek Sculpture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1957), pls. 107-109.

³³ A good illustration can be found in J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture. The Classical Period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), pls. 23.3-6.

³⁴ This statue was erected on the Athenian Acropolis for the Athenian colony of Lemnos about 450 BC. According to Pliny (34.19.54), many Greeks and Romans considered this to be the finest work of Phidias. On this see R. Brilliant, *Arts of the Ancient Greeks* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1974), 177-178.



Fig. 6 Athena from east side metope (10) of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, around 470-460 BC.

is slung diagonally over Athena's torso, gently cupping her right breast. Her right arm extends out to the side and the pliant folds of the sleeve sag into a heavy fold of cloth which, in a new development, allows us, at last, a glimpse at the naked flesh of her torso beneath (Pl. 20). So Flügel's shifting erogenous zone has reached fruition here in this triangle of naked flesh; furthermore it is clearly expressed in the extraordinary depiction of Athena on the Parthenon frieze.

The remarkable clothed figures of the Olympian deities on the splendid Ionic frieze sit with their clinging garments casually flung around their bodies in a state of elegant undress and perpetual priming; they reflect the new found confidence of Athens as mistress of an empire. Jenifer Neils has recently pointed out that the gods seem to be in the act of dressing and of preparing for the great festival that lines up before them.³⁵ Aphrodite is the most fully dressed and Hera is almost ready but has time to toy provocatively with her veil, although it appears that Artemis is having trouble with her delicate χιτών which she languidly has to adjust. And Athena? Watched, perhaps desired by Hephaistos, she drops back on her stool, αἰγίς in her lap, awaiting her new πέπλος (Pl. 21).³⁶ With her protective coverings well-and-truly discarded, her body is perfectly exposed by the draperies that cling to it. Athena's breasts are small and rounded, her abdomen is smooth and extends into the faultlessly outlined profile of her legs which show clearly through the diaphanous material of her gown. The deep furrow-like folds of her dress are open at the side to give us a prime view of her naked physique underneath³⁷ and one feels that were she to only lean forward the weight of fabric gathered up at her side would pull open to divulge far more of that divine virginal frame. This is clearly what is happening to a young woman on a red figure *lebes gamikos*

³⁵ J. Neils, "Pride, Pomp and Circumstance. The Iconography of Procession", in Neils, *Worshipping Athena*, 177-197, esp. 189-193. See also E.B. Harrison, "Apollo's Cloak", in *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen*, ed. G. Kopcke and M.B. Moore (New York: Locust Valley, 1979), 91-98; I.S. Mark, "The Gods on the East Frieze of the Parthenon", *Hesp.* 53 (1984), 289-342.

³⁶ The αἰγίς on her lap secures her chastity. See S. Blundell, "Marriage and the Maiden. Narratives on the Parthenon", in *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece*, ed. ead. and M. Williamson (London: Routledge, 1998), 47-70, esp. 67.

³⁷ Stewart, *Art, Desire*, 128, sees these deep fabric folds as furrows, thereby reminding the male viewer that women are fields waiting to be ploughed.



Fig. 7 Detail from a red-figure lebes gamikos in New York (Metropolitan Museum 07.286.35) by the Washing Painter, *c.* 425 BC.



Fig. 8 Detail from a red-figure lebes gamikos in New York (Metropolitan Museum 07.286.35) by the Washing Painter, *c.* 425 BC.

dating to the last quarter of the fifth-century (Fig. 7): as she lifts her arm to raise a box onto her head, her breast slips out of her finely pleated gown, although it is not surprising when one considers how daringly open the sides of these dresses can be. On the same vase a woman holding a ribbon fillet lifts her arm and reveals the full extent of the open space created beneath a pinned πέπλος or χιτών (Fig. 8).

What one finds in the delightful and elegant portrayal of the gods on the Parthenon frieze is a sense of affected negligence, an affectation thought so fashionable in later centuries. It draws to mind the writing of the Elizabethan poet Herrick, who noted that

A sweet disorder in the dress
Kindles in clothes a wantonness.³⁸

The Athena portrayed on the Parthenon frieze wears clothes that seem unaffected by her body and they almost disappear into sheer transparency at its touch. We have here an ambivalent form of clothing which pretends to conceal the wearer, but fails successfully. Some modern dress historians believe that the deliberate concealment of certain parts of the body originated not as a way of discouraging sexual interest, but as a clever device for arousing it. According to this view, clothes are the physical equivalent of “I’ve got a secret”. As the dress historian Alison Lurie explains, “they are a tease, a come on. It is certainly true that parts of the human form considered sexually arousing are often covered in such a way as to exaggerate and draw attention to them and that people done up in shiny coloured wrappings effect us just as a Christmas present does: we’re curious, we want to open the package”.³⁹

This is all very well, but is it really the sort of attention that should be paid to a virgin goddess? According to Thucydides, it is just the type of scrutiny that should be paid to Athena; he gives his Pericles the following words,

ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καθ’ ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωμένους
καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς,

³⁸ Herrick, *Delight in Disorder*. Taken from *The Oxford Book of English Verse*, ed. A. Quiller-Couch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941).

³⁹ Lurie, *Language*, 212ff.

you should fix your eyes every day on the greatness of Athens as she really is, and should fall in love with her.⁴⁰

In other words, Pericles asks the Athenians to direct their desires towards their city and to become its lovers and as such, it is a dictum that works within the larger frame of envisaging the Parthenon and Athens as a whole as a beautiful woman.⁴¹ It is possible that Pericles' rhetoric is made manifest in the visual portrayal of the patroness of Athens, Athena herself, and could help to account for the increasing eroticization of her imagery, expressed through her dress, which is found in the public monuments of Athens throughout the latter half of the fifth-century. Pericles' building programme made visible the various (and somewhat contradictory) forms of Athena's personality and placed them together on the Acropolis – her image as warrior, as maiden and as a desirable young woman. She is a product of the Parthenon sculptures' major theme, that of the idealization of the youthful body.

It may strike one as odd that Pericles chose to have the body of the παρθένος⁴² represented in such a manner, when ideally the virgin figure should be hidden away within layers, behind veils and clothes and walls, resembling a Russian doll,⁴³ but we need to bear in mind, as Nicole Loraux has again noted, “the desire to know . . . about the form of the parthenos is acute”.⁴⁴ Commenting on Athena's sexuality, Loraux further acknowledges that “she is desirable enough to be pursued by lame Hephaistos, and the results are

⁴⁰ Thuc. 2.43.

⁴¹ Robert Sutton takes this comment further, believing that Pericles' dictum demands that Athenian men should lust after their city, and that they were aided in this by the visual representations around them both in public and private art. See R. Sutton, “Pornography and Persuasion on Attic Pottery”, in *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, ed. A. Richlin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 3–35. On the Parthenon as a beautiful woman, see A. Powell, “Athens' Pretty Face: Anti-feminine Rhetoric and Fifth-Century Controversy Over the Parthenon”, in *The Greek World*, ed. A. Powell (London: Routledge, 1995), 245–270.

⁴² On the difficulties and nuances of the term παρθένος, see S.J. Deacy, “The Vulnerability of Athena. *Parthenoi* and Rape in Greek Myth”, in *Rape in Antiquity. Sexual Violence in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, ed. ead. and K.F. Pierce (London: Duckworth/Classical Press of Wales, 1997), 43–63.

⁴³ See J. Davidson, *Courtesans And Fishcakes. The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (London: Harper Collins, 1997), 129.

⁴⁴ Loraux, *Tiresias*, 220. See also S. Milanezi, this volume pp. 318f.

well known".⁴⁵ According to the account of the meeting of the two divinities provided by Apollodorus,

Ἀθηνᾶ παρεγένετο πρὸς Ἥφαιστον, ὅπλα κατασκευάσαι θέλουσα. ὁ δὲ ἐγκαταλειμμένος ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ὤλισθε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ διώκειν αὐτὴν ἤρξατο· ἡ δὲ ἔφευγεν. ὥς δὲ ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο πολλῇ ἀνάγκῃ (ἦν γὰρ χωλός), ἐπειρᾶτο συνελθεῖν. ἡ δὲ ὥς σῶφρων καὶ παρθένος οὖσα οὐκ ἠνέσχετο· ὁ δὲ ἀπεσπέρμηεν εἰς τὸ σκέλος τῆς θεᾶς.

Athena visited Hephaistos, wanting him to fashion some arms. But he, who had been deserted by Aphrodite, yielded to his desire for Athena and he started to chase her, but she fled. When he caught up with her with much distress (for he was lame), he tried to have sex with her; but she, being *sophron* and a *parthenos* would not permit it, and he ejaculated over the goddess's leg.⁴⁶

It is important to note that Hephaistos' attempted rape ends with him physically climaxing on Athena's body, her *apparently* naked leg. It is a common device in representations of mythological scenes of attempted rape to portray the (female) victim in the act of running away from her aggressive pursuer; as she runs, she frequently clutches her skirt so as not to impede her movements. Perhaps it is this gesture of the lifting of the skirt that enables Hephaistos to ejaculate over Athena's otherwise decently covered leg.⁴⁷

The desirable qualities of the usually hidden virgin body, so perfectly illuminated in the Athena/Hephaistos myth, had a powerful impact on the work of Zeuxis, a Greek master-painter of the fourth century who, according to Cicero, when trying to produce the perfect image of a Helen for the citizens of Kroton,

immediately questioned them as to which were the most beautiful virgins in the city . . . Thereupon, the citizens . . . gathered the virgins into one place . . . and the painter chose five. . . . For he did not be-

⁴⁵ N. Loraux, "What is a goddess?", in *A History of Women. I: From Ancient Goddesses to Christian Saints*, ed. P. Schmitt-Pantel (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 1992), 11-44, esp. 24.

⁴⁶ [Ps.] Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.6.

⁴⁷ See Deacy, "Vulnerability", 48-52. Also, C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Culture: Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 58-98, pl. 4. Further comments on the gesture of lifting the skirt can be found in S. Blundell, "Clutching at Clothes: Dress and Gesture in Greek Vase-Painting", in *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. L. Llewellyn-Jones (London: Duckworth/Classical Press of Wales, 2001 forthcoming).

lieve that it was possible to find in one body all the things he looked for in beauty, since nature has not refined to perfection any single object in all its parts.⁴⁸

So the body of the virgin is inherently sexy; it is desirable and people – men – like to gaze at it. Whether completely naked, concealed in order to reveal, or bound in beneath layers of modest or protective clothing, the desire remains. For the sake of propriety the body of the virgin, which was so admired and desired, needed to be concealed beneath garments and veils, but every now and then, when the situation called for it, it was permissible to let the body show through, to allow a city to wonder at its patron deity. Whether fully armed in glistening armour or scantily clad in light linen, Athena and her clothes speak to us with a clarity of voice that can perhaps articulate the ideology of a whole society, and so it is perhaps as well to remember the discerning words of Honoré de Balzac:

“La toilette est tout à la fois une science, un art, une habitude, un sentiment.”⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 2.1.1.

⁴⁹ (“Dress is at one and the same time a science, an art, a custom, a feeling”) *Traité de la vie élégante*, 1830.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

FEMININITY AND 'NEUER MYTHOS' – PALLAS ATHENA IN TURN OF THE CENTURY ART

Alexandra Karentzos

In trying to overcome tradition an overwhelming production of femininity images are produced, as if a dangerous sphinx was sitting on the threshold of the 20th century, only permitting entrance to the era of modernism to those who are able to solve the enigma that is woman.¹

Pallas Athena is one of the figures who was used around 1900 to convey images of femininity. The artists proclaimed progress to differentiate themselves from the “old” – the so-called historicism in art.² But with Pallas Athena as a motif the artists adopted traditional iconography. In this chapter I am going to focus on two artists who marked the gateway between old and new: Franz von Stuck in Munich and Gustav Klimt in Vienna. Both artists founded new artists' associations: the Secessions. They split off from the existing, officially established artists' organisations, as young members of the opposition.

In 1892 tradition appears to have contributed to modernism perhaps for the first time, as seen in Stuck's poster depicting the helmeted Athena as patron of the Munich Secession (Fig. 1). This Athena recalls a painting of 1891 entitled *Pallas Athene* (Pl. 22a). Both pictures are octagonal in shape and show the head of the goddess in left profile, but in the poster the decorative flat character of the head – now the emblem of the Secession – is heightened by leaving out any hint of plasticity. For this Athena type, Stuck used an ancient head from the Munich Glyptothek as a model (Pl. 22b).

¹ O. Gutjahr, “Lulu als Prinzip. Verführte und Verführerin in der Literatur um 1900”, in *Lulu, Lilith, Mona Lisa... Frauenbilder der Jahrhundertwende*, ed. I. Roebeling (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus, 1989), 45-76, esp. 45. Tr. Frances Batchelor.

² Cf. “Memorandum des Vereines Bildender Künstler München”, 21st June 1892, in M. Makela, *The Munich Secession. Arts and Artists in Turn-of-the-Century Munich* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 148.



Fig. 1 Franz von Stuck: *Poster for the 7th Internationale Kunstausstellung*, 1897. Munich, Stadtmuseum.

Stuck himself owned a cast of this marble head. In Stuck's time it was still connected with the body of an Athena, identified as such by her aegis. Even at the turn of the century, however, the archaeologist Adolf Furtwängler disputed the connection between the two parts.³ He did not consider it impossible that the head was not Athena but an Amazon, and it is very interesting to note in this context that Stuck also used the head as a model for several portrayals of Amazons. Adopting an ancient model is an attestation of the artist's historicist interest in the ancient world. It reflects an artistic principle based on eclecticism and the simultaneous mixture of elements of various historical styles.⁴ Historicism is thus integrated into the modern evolution of art, since it does not accept the works of the past as a prescriptive pattern. Antiquity, for example, is taken up in a seemingly *playful manner*, and mythical figures are interpreted in new and different ways. Accordingly, Stuck is able to incorporate his images of Athena in representations of Amazons. The head, therefore, becomes a picture puzzle of Athena and Amazon.

Historicistic eclecticism is also employed by Gustav Klimt, who mixes various artistic periods in his wall-paintings in the stairway spandrels of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. One of them represents Egyptian and Greek art in juxtaposition. Egypt is symbolized by a nude figure and various Egyptian cult objects. Opposing this naked figure is the chaste goddess Athena, who embodies ancient Greek art. Carrying a Nike and wielding a spear, with her shield in the background, this Athena is a variation of the Phidian Parthenos. But another Greek deity is also alluded to in this picture: in the background, grapevines appear as a decorative element in the form of heart-shaped leaves, in the same way as they are found on ancient Greek vases in connection with Dionysus.⁵ Klimt also employs such grapevines – remodelled to a kind of algae – in his painting *Waterserpents*, where they appear in an explicitly sexual context.

³ M. Fuchs, *Glyptothek München. Katalog der Skulpturen. Römische Idealplastik* vol. 4, ed. K. Vierneisel (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1992), 200.

⁴ *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst 1848-90*, ed. P.H. Feist (Leipzig: Seemann, 1987), 40.

⁵ Cf. for example an Attic neckamphora with the mask of Dionysus in the Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Tarquinia (RC 1804), a bellyamphora with Dionysus by Exekias in the British Museum, London (B 210), and a cup of the Leafless Group with Dionysus and satyrs in Chicago University (*ABV* 643.1). For further examples, see C. Bérard and C. Bron, "Das Spiel des Satyrn", in *Die Bilderwelt der Griechen. Schlüssel zu einer 'fremden' Kultur*, ed. C. Bérard, J.P. Vernant et al. (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1985), 185-215; F. Frontisi-Ducroux, "Im Spiegel der Maske", *ibid.*, 217-241.

The Dionysiac element is related to ecstasy and orgy in the same way as argued by Nietzsche in *The Birth of Tragedy out of the Spirit of Music*.⁶ Nietzsche's influence on turn of the century artists was tremendous. But explaining this in more detail would lead us off the topic. By combining Athena with grapevines and Egyptian art as a nude, the Greek goddess is displayed in a new context: she is sexualized.

It appears, as noted by Michel Foucault, that there was an increase in discourses on sexuality around 1900. In his work *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault describes how sexual behaviour has become an object of science.⁷ He rejects the repression hypothesis, which assumes an exclusion of sexuality from social discourses, and argues that in medicine, psychiatry, educational theory, and sexology, which developed in the nineteenth century, sexuality became the focus of discourses. In this process it was the female who was the first to be assigned a sexual dispositiv⁸ and said to be hysterical, a concept which was also transferred to other areas of society. In this context, pictures became an important part of the sexual discourse. In separating the term 'sexual practice' from the sexual act itself and transferring it to various other areas of discourse, art can also be regarded as sexual practice and is integrated into discourse on sexuality.

An element of sexualization was thus clearly present when artists drew from former, bygone eras. Similarly, in his treatise on the *Mother Right* of 1861, which was influential in Viennese modernism, Bachofen examines antiquity from the viewpoint of sexual difference. Against a patriarchal world he puts forward a matriarchal pre-world, in which Athena is one of the central figures of transition between both orders. The 'mother right' was according to Bachofen a 'gynaicocratic' culture,⁹ which in the beginning was marked by an unregulated hetaerism. It is "the domination of the generative

⁶ F. Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy out of the Spirit of Music*, tr. S. Whiteside, ed. M. Tanner (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993).

⁷ M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* vol.1, *An Introduction*, tr. R. Hurley (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990).

⁸ On the term *dispositiv* cf. G. Deleuze, "Was ist ein Dispositiv?", in *Spiele der Wahrheit. Michel Foucaults Denken*, ed. F. Ewald and B. Waldenfels (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1991), 153-162.

⁹ J.J. Bachofen, "Mother Right. An Investigation of Religious and Juridical Character of Matriarchy in the Ancient World", in J.J. Bachofen, *Myth, Religion, and Mother Right. Selected Writings*, tr. R. Manheim (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), 69-207, esp. 70.

womb".¹⁰ Bachofen assigns to this the law of the material and the bodily, of the tellurian. In opposition to this is the 'father right', an expression of the spiritual higher life, the uranic.¹¹ In this way he depicts the former as the physical right and the latter as the metaphysical. In Bachofen's opinion the material motherhood transformed into motherless spirituality appears in Athena.¹² Athena embodies the metaphysical nature in its highest form. At the same time the tellurian motherhood does not suffer complete devaluation, it is regarded as culture-promoting.

In opposition to this concept, Otto Weininger – a Viennese thinker – condemns all femininity outright: all ideologems which were common around 1900 can be found in his extremely popular book *Sex and Character*. In the first part of the treatise he shows how an extraordinary mixture of the male and female lives on in every individual. Even in the smallest cell and the smallest blood corpuscle can man be split into male (M) and female (W) parts. In a pseudoscientific manner these theses are ostensibly 'verified' via biological, philosophical, and literary reasoning. The second part expresses Weininger's own view: the diffusion of sexual opposites is regarded as aesthetic as well as moral decadence. According to Jacques Le Rider, Weininger outlines "one of the fundamental figures of modernity, which he experienced as a rise of the female and the deconstruction of the male".¹³ On the other hand, Weininger constructs an extreme polarity of M and W as the ideal goal. He develops a metaphysic of the male, "in which the male principle is identified, to the point of absurdity, with the figures of intellect, creativity, liberty, and will, cutting itself off more and more sharply from the body, instinct, life, and nature".¹⁴ In contrast, the female is totally embodied and sexualized: "*W ist nichts als Sexualität, M ist sexuell und noch etwas darüber*".¹⁵

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 78.

¹² Cf. J.J. Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht. Eine Untersuchung über die Gynaiokratie der alten Welt nach ihrer religiösen und rechtlichen Natur*, Gesammelte Werke, vol. 2-3, ed. K. Meuli (Basel: B. Schwabe, 1948), 174. (Not included in the English translation: Bachofen, *Motherright*.)

¹³ J. Le Rider, *Modernity and Crises of Identity. Culture and Society in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, tr. R. Morris (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 103.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁵ O. Weininger, *Geschlecht und Charakter. Eine prinzipielle Untersuchung* (reprint Munich: Matthes und Seitz, 1980), 113.

This is the terrain from which the art of the nineteenth century draws its symbolic figures. In a fusion of positions, the 'belle dame sans merci' oscillates between 'magna mater' and 'frigid virgin'. Athena becomes "a bizarre androgyne", who "has kept all the attractions of a manly soul in a charming woman's body", as Baudelaire puts it in his characterisation of the 'armed Pallas'.¹⁶ This intersection of genders is, so-to-speak, an 'allegory of modernity'.¹⁷ Weininger expresses this idea in an obvious way, in taking 'the bisexuality of all life' as the starting point of his treatise. At the end of the nineteenth century, a variety of such images was produced in which male characteristics are attributed to women.¹⁸ This can be seen in the Athenas and Amazons, but also in the personification of 'Sin' painted by Stuck: a naked woman entwined by a snake. Hugo von Hofmannsthal draws our attention to the hermaphroditic nature of sin with her strange smile, almost a Renaissance smile.¹⁹ With this, the 'mannish woman' moves closer to the enigma that is 'Mona Lisa' and the Sphinx.

Sphinx and serpent are also attributes of Athena. They are associated in particular with the famous statue of Athena Parthenos by Phidias, which served as a model for Stuck's *Poster for the 7th International Exhibition of Art* (Fig. 1). In this poster, which is arranged like a triptych, Athena actually appears twice. On the right, a small picture of her head – as mentioned earlier – serves as the emblem of the Secession. To the left side, it is contrasted with a nude, kneeling allegory of Pictura, framed quadratically with an ionic kymation; Pictura, as is written beneath, represents the union of artists. In the central picture, a helmeted Athena, who is depicted frontally, poses a 'martial contrast'²⁰ to the ideal nudity of Pictura (as in Klimt's stairway spandrels in the Kunsthistorische Museum in Vienna). Her

¹⁶ Cf. C. Baudelaire, *Madame Bovary par Gustave Flaubert*, in id., *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. C. Pichois (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), vol. 2, 81. cit. Le Rider, *Modernity*, 151.

¹⁷ Le Rider, *Modernity*, 92.

¹⁸ Cf. F.-C. Lagrande, "Das Androgyne und der Symbolismus", in *Androgyn. Sehnsucht nach Vollkommenheit*, ed. U. Prinz, Neuer Berliner Kunstverein (Berlin: Reimer, 1986), 75-112.

¹⁹ H. von Hofmannsthal, "Ausstellung der Münchner »Secession« und der »Freien Vereinigung Düsseldorfer Künstler«", in id., *Reden und Aufsätze. 1891-1913*, vol. 1, ed. B. Schoeller (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1979), 553-560, esp. 556.

²⁰ P.-K. Schuster, "München – das Verhängnis einer Kunststadt", in id., *Die »Kunststadt« München 1937. Nationalsozialismus und »Entartete Kunst«*, ed. P.-K. Schuster (3rd edn. Munich: Prestel, 1988), 12-36, esp. 18.

helmet matches that of the Athena Parthenos by Phidias, with its central Sphinx supporting the plume and its flanking winged horses. The cheek plates of the helmet are upturned and seem like wings, these formally mirroring those of the Sphinx. Will Athena herself turn into a Sphinx? The Sphinx is an important motif in Stuck's oeuvre. In the painting *The Kiss of the Sphinx*, the fatal character of the theriomorphic woman, the disastrous and hopeless, is shifted to the forefront. In a way that is paradigmatic for the beginning of modernism, the myth becomes erotically charged, the challenge of the man facing the riddle posed by the Sphinx is reinterpreted as a scene of temptation.²¹

In the painting *The Sphinx* there is no longer any need for the binary form to characterize the woman as Sphinx. The naked female body lying prone in a sphinx-like pose is emphasized and becomes an 'erotic enigma' itself. Only the caption defines her as Sphinx. The Sphinx has become a general formula for the secret woman.²² Foucault describes modern societies as being characterized, not by banishing sex into the dark, but by never ceasing to talk about it and proclaiming it as *the enigma*.²³ Female sexuality in particular is thus considered the 'dark continent'.²⁴ Within art, this tendency is revealed in the personification of the sexual enigma as the Sphinx, the epitome of the mysterious woman, often in a codified form, as will be shown in relation to Medusa and Athena. A combination of metaphor and crude explicitness is demonstrated in Stuck's *Sin*.

Another semihuman creature adorns the serpent-edged aegis of Athena: Medusa. Here we again find the snake of *Sin*. The snakes become symbols of instincts and passion, pushing the female image of Medusa into an area of unrestrained wildness and archaism. These serpent-haired women, as well as the goddesses of fate – the Erinyes – belong, according to Bachofen, to a chthonic pre-world. With Stuck, the snakehair becomes a symbol of 'erotic fate'.²⁵ In a short manuscript on *Medusa's Head*, Freud treats the sexual sym-

²¹ Gutjahr, "Lulu als Prinzip", 46.

²² *Ibid.*, 46.

²³ Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 35.

²⁴ S. Freud, "Die Frage der Laienanalyse: Unterredungen mit einem Unparteiischen", in id., *Studienausgabe. Ergänzungsband. Schriften zur Behandlungstechnik*, ed. A. Mitscherlich et al. (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1975), 271-349, esp. 303.

²⁵ H.H. Hofstätter, *Symbolismus und die Kunst der Jahrhundertwende. Voraussetzungen. Erscheinungsformen. Bedeutungen* (Köln: DuMont, 1965), 203.

bolism of the severed Medusa-head, which Athena wears on her aegis.²⁶ Freud claims that the beheading equals castration and Medusa's decapitated head symbolizes the female genitalia. The horror which the head of Medusa evokes is, according to Freud, somewhat reduced, as the hair of Medusa consists of serpents, symbolising the phallus in its multiplication. By wearing the Gorgoneion, Athena becomes sexualized. Freud describes the reason for the goddess wearing this:

This symbol of horror is worn upon her dress by the virgin goddess Athene. And rightly so, for thus she becomes a woman who is unapproachable and repels all sexual desires – since she displays the terrifying genitals of the Mother.²⁷

The female genitalia are interpreted as being castrated and are therefore shocking. According to Freud, Athena represents a masculinized woman because she also has a phallus, actually in the form of a spear, which she carries in her hand.²⁸ The female genitalia is inherently deficient – but only when taking the male as the standard. Thus Athena requires a symbol of masculinity because the phallus is missing. In Stuck's poster the image of the femme fatale is multiplied into the triple-echelon formation of the Sphinx, Athena, and Medusa. Because of this, it penetrates more powerfully. The victory over the 'old' is symbolized through the figure of Nike which Athena holds in her hand. She already anticipates the victory of 'youth' – the Secession.

The Athena of the Secession poster is used again by Stuck as a model for his painting *Pallas Athene* (Pl. 22a). Again, he aims to create an archeologically exact reconstruction of the ancient idol of Athena Parthenos. Through her majestic pose, Athena projects the untouchability of an idol. This impression is strengthened through the golden background, which is a feature of iconic paintings. The sacred associations are clear.

²⁶ S. Freud, "Medusa's Head", in id., *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works*, vol. 18, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle, Group Psychology and Other Works, 1920-22*, tr. J. Strachey, ed. A. Freud (London: Hogarth Press, 1981), 273-274, esp. 273. Cf. the discussion of this essay by A. Shearer, *Athene: Image and Energy* (London: Viking Arkana, 1996), 232.

²⁷ Freud, "Medusa's Head", 273.

²⁸ *De Sphinx van Wenen. De archeologische collectie van Sigmund Freud*, ed. Leiden Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Amsterdam: Boom, 1993), 153.

As before in Munich, the goddess Athena again fights for the Secession in Vienna in 1897 (Fig. 2). The Secession poster by Klimt shows the new generation in revolt against the old. Under the protection of the goddess Athena, Theseus defeats the Minotaur in order to liberate the youth of Athens. This is obviously an allusion to the Secession's own fight to liberate the Viennese youth. The composition of the poster is linear. The topic is not represented directly, but as a dramatic scene – the first act of the secession play.²⁹ Athena, carrying shield and spear, is depicted in profile and stands apart of the action. She thus becomes an observer. Because she is represented in profile and in a two-dimensional manner an association can be seen with vase paintings of antiquity.³⁰ The manner of representation also displays a resemblance to Stuck's Munich Secession emblem. The shield, decorated with a large gorgoneion, hides the body of Klimt's Athena in such a way that her head appears 'free', in close resemblance to the emblem of Munich Secession, at the same time leaving behind an impression of decapitation. Medusa appears to be duplicated in the armed Athena. Instead of the goddess, it is Medusa who looks at the observer. She is represented as an archaic mask, whereby her monstrousness is highlighted.

In the painting *Pallas Athene* by Klimt, too, which dates from the same year as Stuck's painting with the same title, the grotesque face of Medusa appears, this time on Athena's aegis (Pl. 23). Athena is portrayed in sharp frontality and symmetry – similarly to Stuck's picture. Klimt's Athena is, however, no longer the girl from the painting in the Kunsthistorisches Museum. She appears in full body armour, the helmet pulled over her face, by which her warlike character is emphasized.³¹ The unadorned Corinthian helmet with its accentuated cheek and nose plates draws our attention to the main features of the face. Not only does the look of the shining golden Gorgo on the aegis transfix the observer, but also the look of Pallas herself

²⁹ C.E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979), 215.

³⁰ Cf., for example, an Archaic hydria with Athena behind her shield, in E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder hauptsächlich etruskischen Fundorts*, vol. 2, *Heroenbilder* (Berlin: Reimer, 1843), pl. 131.

³¹ This is in contrast to the traditional depictions of Athena, in which the Corinthian helmet is worn on the top of the head. This generally accentuates her peaceful aspects. Cf. the chapter by S. Ritter in this volume, esp. p. 161.



Fig. 2 Gustav Klimt: *Poster for the I. Ausstellung der Secession (uncensored version)*, 1898. Vienna, Historisches Museum.

threatens to turn the observer to stone. This 'bright-eyed' Athena appears to be a materialization of Homer's description: as Achilles first catches sight of Athena at the beginning of the *Iliad*, he becomes transfixed, because 'δεινὸν δέ οἱ ὄσσε φάανθεν' (*Il.* 1.200). Bachofen describes Athena as originally being close to Gorgo. Thus, the 'glaukopis' ('owl-eyed', according to Homer) becomes 'gorgopis', 'Gorgo-eyed'.³² She is called 'gorgopis' when she imposes a horrible fate,³³ the Gorgo being the embodiment of horror and the most horrifying aspects of the supernatural. But Athena does not turn into Medusa through look alone: the metal helmet, with its narrow openings makes Athena's face appear mask-like.³⁴ This can also be seen in exactly the same form in Klimt's emblem of the Secession (Fig. 3). Like Stuck, Klimt also uses Pallas' head as an emblem of the Secession. The echelon formation of Gorgo and Athena is extreme, because Gorgo is represented at the very edge of the picture, and cut off right beneath her teeth. Klimt's Pallas is explicitly identified as Regina Artium, as is indicated by the word 'Ars' next to her head.

In Klimt's painting of *Pallas Athene*, as in his poster, a battle is depicted in a frieze-like manner. Again, we enter the mythical arena, but while the Secession poster depicts Theseus fighting the Minotaur, here we find Heracles wrestling with Triton. For this scene, Klimt accurately copied a painting on a black-figured vase now in Toledo (Fig. 4).³⁵ The Nereid, who is an observer of the scene on the vase, is transformed into an Athena in Klimt's painting. The similarity to the Athena of the Secession poster is obvious.

Klimt's *Pallas Athene* has red hair, which hangs loosely around her head and frames the gorgoneion. Red hair is traditionally a sign for evil, for whores and witches. Similar symbolic character can be attributed to the black hair of Stuck's Athena, which, according to Nike Wagner, leads us into dream and death.³⁶ The figure that

³² Cf. the complete works in German: Bachofen, *Mutterrecht*, 329.

³³ E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (Munich: Hirmer, 1969), 207.

³⁴ The similarity between mask and woman is also a theme in Klimt's drawing *The Tragedy*.

³⁵ M. Bisanz-Prakken, "Zum Gemälde 'Pallas Athene' von Gustav Klimt", *Alte und Moderne Kunst* 21.147 (1976), 8-11, esp. 10. See also: Gerhard, *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder* vol. 2, ill. 111: Heracles and Triton. Comini depicts the wrong vase painting, A. Comini, *Gustav Klimt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975, reprint 1986), 17, ill. 27.

³⁶ N. Wagner, "Erhabene Sinnlichkeit", in *Gustav Klimt. Zeichnungen 1880-1917*, ed. C. Haenlein (Hannover: Kestner-Gesellschaft, 1984), 23-24, esp. 24.

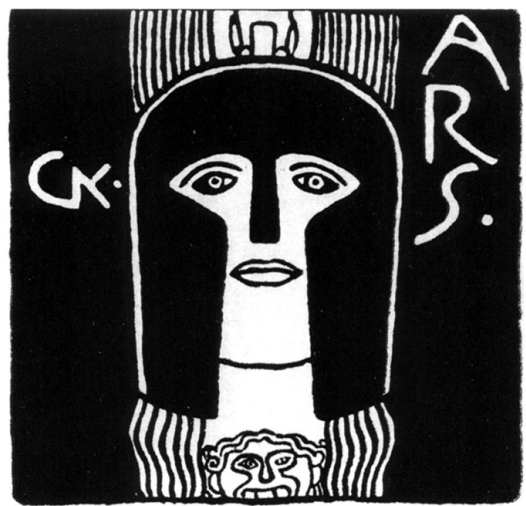


Fig. 3 Gustav Klimt: *Vienna Secessions Emblem*, 1898. *Ver Sacrum* 3 (1900).



Fig. 4 Vase-painting: *Herakles and Triton*. Reproduced from: Gerhard, *Ausgewählte griechische Vasenbilder hauptsächlich etruskischen Fundorts*, vol. 2, *Heroenbilder* (Berlin: Reimer, 1843), ill. 111.

Klimt's virginal goddess holds in her hands also has fire-red hair. The metamorphosis is therefore perfect: the goddess of victory, who traditionally hovers over the ball held in Athena's hand, becomes a 'Nuda Veritas', who holds a mirror provocatively facing the viewer. In another painting, the *Naked Truth*, so entitled, plays the main role and has Schiller's words as a motto, loosely translated: You cannot please everyone with your actions and art – it is better to please few – to please many is bad.³⁷ With this, Klimt is obviously reacting to criticism aimed at the Secession poster, and distances himself from it. *Naked Truth* is accompanied by a snake, which is also a symbol of Athena. Through her nakedness (even the pubic hair is pointedly depicted), the personified Truth becomes a temptation to the senses. Schorske commented ironically: She is "not Nuda Veritas but Vera Nuditas".³⁸ This nudity "holds up her mirror to modern man".³⁹ It was a feature of the time around 1900 that exactly this sort of sexualized allegorical figure represented the image of modernity. Modern art at the time stylized itself as being '*sexual practise*', to use Foucault's term.

But back to the painting of Athena: the en-face representation of the figures exaggerates their inapproachability to the point of threat. "This frontal stance brooks no opposition".⁴⁰ Medusa's look is only effective in direct confrontation. Right from the earliest representations in Greek art, Gorgo turns her broad face with staring eyes towards the observer. Frontality is essential to her. This also applies to Athena and the Nuda Veritas. Frontality emphasizes the hieratic gesture, therefore becoming more icon-like in nature. Similar to Stuck's painting, gold is also used, suggesting a transcendental quality. However, unlike Stuck, Klimt uses gold also for the armour, similar to the chryselephantine statue by Phidias. But even if artists at the turn of the century utilized sacral elements – such as iconic elements – they did not elevate Athena to a figure who embodied binding norms and values as in ancient religious art and myth.

One could connect Stuck's and Klimt's concept of myth with the

³⁷ This painting is a further development of the illustration by L. Schefer in *Ver Sacrum I* (1898) with the title "Wahrheit ist Feuer und Wahrheit reden heißt leuchten und brennen".

³⁸ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, 215.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 215.

⁴⁰ W. Hofmann, *Gustav Klimt and Vienna at the Turn of Century* (Salzburg: Verlag Galerie Welz, 1971), 25.

'Neuer Mythos', Friedrich Schlegel's romantic project. Its ideal was the re-integration of science and art, which should occur through this 'Neuer Mythos'. Society, which is divided, will come together in totality. In art, the world will be represented as unified. Mythical holistic models are ideal for such totalitarian strategies, according to Plumpe.⁴¹ The faculty paintings for the ceremonial hall of the new University of Vienna by Klimt clearly show this concept. Klimt depicts the sciences not as rational, as they are known in modern times, rather he relates them to ancient myths: *Medicine* is represented in the shape of Hygieia, whose attribute is the snake, drinking from a bowl, and *Philosophy* takes the shape of the Sphinx, modelled on an ancient image in the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna.⁴² He begins with a coherent mythical core, but sets it in a new context. Klimt returns to a representation of science as an archaic, outdated order. He tries to symbolize a mythical unity between art and science, whereas modern society disintegrates into autonomous sets.

This can also be seen in the example of Athena: she is the patron of art, but also the goddess of wisdom. In this way she allows us to imagine a synthesis of science and art. Also the fact that she is integrated in the discourse on sexuality contributes to the concept of 'Neuer Mythos' as femininity now becomes an underlying principle of a regressive-utopian longing for unity.⁴³ However, this oneness is imaginative rather than real. The 'Neuer Mythos' remains art, an artefact.

⁴¹ G. Plumpe, *Ästhetische Kommunikation der Moderne*, vol. 1 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1993), 169.

⁴² A. Strobl, *Gustav Klimt. Die Zeichnungen, 1878-1903*, vol. 1 (Salzburg: Verlag Galerie Welz, 1980), 148.

⁴³ S. Bovenschen, *Die imaginierte Weiblichkeit. Exemplarische Untersuchungen zu kulturgeschichtlichen und literarischen Präsentationsformen des Weiblichen* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1979), 33.

PART THREE

LITERARY ACCOUNTS

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

MEMORIES OF POETIC DISCOURSE IN ATHENA'S CULT PRACTICES

Andromache Karanika

The antithetical features of the goddess Athena, virility combined with femininity, a warrior and at the same time a woman excelling in traditional women's works, make her appearance in poetic discourse critical. She incarnates warrior ferocity and domestic culture at the same time, features that are emphasized in parallel terms in both epic narrative, and the actual cult practice in her honour. In the Homeric epics, her presence in the narrative underlines the antithesis inherent in her nature. In this chapter, I focus on Athena's presence in the epic narrative, and, more specifically, on epiphany scenes, in order to determine the kinds of relationships that are established between the deity and mortals, the contexts in which they are presented in literature, and how this context is reflected in cult practice.

Early Greek poetry is now viewed as a mere reflection of a tradition long lost to us. What survives as an artefact was an ongoing process which served a rich social function. In this framework, the performance of Homeric epics did not present a static or meaningless discourse, but rather expressed the ideas and aspirations of their audiences.¹ The Homeric poems are highly reflective works of literature, in which various myths are depicted.² The relation between myth, literary accounts, and cult is an intricate matter that

¹ See J. Svenbro, *La parole et le marbre: Aux origines de la poésie grecque* (PhD Lund, 1976), 18, and I. Morris, "The Use and Abuse of Homer", *Cl. Ant.* 5 (1986), 81-138, esp. 123.

² See F. Graf, *Greek Mythology: An Introduction*, tr. T. Marier (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 58. For a more detailed study of myths and religion in Homer, see id., "Religion und Mythologie im Zusammenhang mit Homer: Forschung und Ausblick", in *Zweihundert Jahre Homerforschung*, ed. J. Latacz (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1991), 331-362.

has invited scholarly interest since antiquity,³ and various views have been put forward as to which follows the other: myth or ritual. Recent studies have distinguished between modern and ancient notions of myth,⁴ so that the issue of the relation between myth and cult has been put on entirely new ground. As I will argue, Athena's appearance in Early Greek epic narrative has strong parallels in certain religious expressions, as attested in fifth century Athenian practice.

The first question that emerges from the Homeric passages is: what is the purpose of the epiphany scenes that promote Athena into action? From a narratological point of view one can get the simple answer that there is a need to promote action, in other words to move the narrative forward. Athena's first epiphany in the *Odyssey* is presented at the critical point after years of passive idleness have passed, and the divine intervention is vital. In the first book of the *Odyssey*, Athena presents herself to Telemachus as Mentès, thus taking the role of a man. Moreover, the story that she relates to him (1.179-212) makes the description of Mentès, and therefore herself, at this specific point, resemble that of Odysseus, whose fate she is about to direct. In the narrative description of Mentès one is struck by the emphasis on the details of her clothes, with the epiphany being described in concrete, material, terms.⁵ The description of Telemachus is presented in the same terms. He is thinking of the stranger that he has just met, and how he should act. A reference to the same type of details, his clothes, challenges us to examine their position and what they signify. The purpose of

³ For a review of recent scholarship on the relation between myth and ritual see H.S. Versnel, "What's Sauce for the Goose is Sauce for the Gander: Myth and Ritual, Old and New", in *Approaches to Greek Myth*, ed. L. Edmunds (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 25-90, as well as the introduction by the editor in the same volume: L. Edmunds, "Introduction: the Practice of Greek Mythology", *ibid.*, 1-20.

⁴ See M. Detienne, *L'invention de la mythologie* (Paris: Gallimard, 1981). Detienne advocates in his study that myth as a modern construct does not exist in ancient society; on the same topic see C. Calame, "'Mythe' et 'rite' en Grèce: des catégories indigènes?", *Kernos* 4 (1991), 179-204; F. Graf, "Il mito tra menzogna e Urwahrheit", in *Atti del C'ovvegno sul Mito del' IRSSAE dell' Umbria* (Perugia: IRSSAE, 1993), 43-56.

⁵ The emphasis on details of clothes is significant in the light of Athena's birth (she was born fully armoured) and her artistry, since she was the one who taught women how to weave. As I will argue below, both epic narrative and cult practice seem to follow a pattern of incorporation of divine identity on the part of the mortal, in order to gain the deity's favour.

this epiphany, that is to make Telemachus think and act, is complete. What occasions this specific appearance of the goddess to Telemachus is the structural analogy between the fate of Mentēs/Athena and that of Odysseus. The effect of the epiphany is emphasized by the perception that Telemachus has as soon as he sees the stranger: he visualizes in his mind his father (1.114). Therefore, the analogy is intended both on the part of the person who creates it in the narrative, namely Athena, and the one who receives it, Telemachus.

Looking more closely at the aftermath of the scene, one sees that Telemachus is depicted as sensing the deity. His reaction resembles the reaction of the daughters of Celeus, who sensed the epiphany of Demeter, and of Anchises, who understood that he was talking to Aphrodite, in the hymns to Demeter and Aphrodite respectively (1.323, 420). The mythic narrative as presented in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* has a parallel in the events that were enacted as a reproduction of the mythological tradition in the course of the Mysteries.⁶ Therefore one can propose a certain typology around these scenes as far as the perception of the deity is concerned from the mortal point of view. The first book of the *Odyssey* ends (1.444) with the climax of the scene's success. Telemachus is considering the course of action that Athena has suggested that he take. At this point of the narrative the audience or readers are given a full description, once again in concrete, material terms, of how he takes off his clothes and lies down, with the help of the old nurse Euryclia.

Leaving momentarily the structure that is created around this divine apparition in the first book of the *Odyssey*, one sees a similar structure in the roles that Athena takes in her epiphanies when she appears to the sailors who will accompany Telemachus on his journey, by becoming Telemachus himself (2.383). In this apparition of the deity we have a complete identification with the person whose fate she wishes to influence.

One of the most intriguing apparitions of the goddess Athena is the semi-epiphany to young Nausicaa, since it takes place in the form of a dream. The same typology discussed earlier is found here

⁶ As H. Foley suggests, "Metaneira's reaction to the divine epiphany – speechlessness, fear, and awe – were said to be reproduced in the initiate in the course of the Mysteries" (*The Homeric Hymn to Demeter: Translation, Commentary, and Interpretative Essays*, ed. H. Foley [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993], 52).

too (6.23). Athena takes the form of a young girl, the daughter of a certain famous Dymas, who is supposedly one of Nausicaa's best friends. She is presented not with her own name, as Nausicaa is for instance, but with her father's name, thus giving emphasis to her generation and background rather than her personality. The fact that she remains unnamed is extremely significant for my interpretation of this particular scene. Presumably, it is as Nausicaa's beloved friend that she can easily reproach her, and tell her about her marriage that is soon to take place. This time the advice that she gives is very specific and alludes to all the material needs for a wedding, with a direct reference to the bride's clothes that need to be ritually cleaned early in the morning. I use the word 'ritually' because she does not refer to any ordinary cleaning of all her clothes (6.38), but those that will accompany her through her wedding to the new phase of her life.⁷

The apparition of Athena is successful regarding its initial purpose, as one would expect, and early in the morning the girls get ready for the cleansing. Particular emphasis is given to objects that are associated with wedding rituals, as we know from literary and archaeological sources which represent such scenes: the *kiste* that the mother prepares by putting in all the perfumes (6.76), the golden *lecythos* with oil, and the shining *estheta* (6.74).⁸ The golden colour given to the *lecythos* in line 79 is particularly associated with the divine in Homer.

The scene that follows shows the specific things that the girls do in the scene of purification and cleaning, how they wash by the sea and then anoint the clothes (*eimata* 6.96) with oil. The description with all its beauty is striking for the movement of the structure and how narrative is triggered, as well as the relations between goddesses and mortal women that are established. Athena promotes the narrative by urging Nausicaa in this semi-epiphany, and Nausicaa responds with immediate action on her part. The goddess calls upon a mortal girl, and then that girl starts singing to divinity again, thus creating a circular movement in the god-mortal relationship.

⁷ I. Papadopoulou-Belmehdi connects this scene with the Plynteria, in which the wooden statue of Athena was washed. See I. Papadopoulou-Belmehdi, *Le chant de Pénélope* (Paris: Belin, 1994), 118-119.

⁸ The entire scene has an erotic overtone: see A. Heubech, S. West, and J.B. Hainsworth, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 299.

Nausicaa starts singing (*archeto molpes* 6.101) about Artemis who goes to the mountains rejoicing in her hunting, and about the Nymphs who accompany her. This is most appropriate, for this time she, a mortal, is incarnating the role of a goddess, that of the other virgin goddess, Artemis. Just like Artemis, she goes out 'hunting' with all the connotations the word can have in view of her expectation of a husband, accompanied by a circle of friends (*mousai*) who are playing in the fields (*agronomoi paizousi*), just like her companions. Artemis' mother rejoices in the scene, since her daughter Artemis is the most notable one (*arignote*, 108), precisely like Nausicaa in this scene. In fact, when Odysseus addresses her, in his fear that he may be in front of a goddess, the first thing that comes into his mind is that Nausicaa is Artemis (151-152). After the girl has completed the washing, the goddess Athena, patron of Odysseus, is going in her turn to beautify him. He is going to wash himself in the river of the salt water, be anointed with oil, and then wear the clothes that the girl has given him. At this point the goddess will make him look bigger and more handsome. Athena is represented like Athena *Ergane* in her attempt to make Odysseus appear more handsome, when together with Hephaestus they put all their skill in working with gold (226-237). Again a concrete image is added to the depiction.

The Homeric poems were performed in Classical Athens. Rhapsodes competed in performances of Homeric recitations at the Panathenaea as well as at other public festivals. With help from comparative evidence, I shall argue that the way that Athena is presented in epic narrative, and the kind of relations that are established in her interaction with mortals, are paralleled in her cult. The relation of the patron-goddess to the hero is reflected in the ritual performed by the community, which seeks protection from the deity. The *aetia* of a ritual is often to be found in epic narrative.⁹

⁹ In her article on women's participation in the festivals, M. Lefkowitz discusses the dedication of the *peplos* to the statue of Athena. She argues that the purpose of offering a precious woven garment to the goddess is explained in *Iliad* 6, where Theano, the priestess of Athena, asks the goddess to save the city. It is "an indication of the honour conferred by participating in the Athenian version of this peplos ritual that votive statues were set up for *arrhephoroi* on the Acropolis": M. Lefkowitz, "Women in the Panathenaic and other festivals", in *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaea and Parthenon*, ed. J. Neils (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 80.

Comparative evidence from modern Greece suggests that the way that reference is made in folksong speech and folktale narrative to deity and the encounter with the divine is not irrelevant to the actual veneration and cult of saints, or – as in most cases – the cult of the Virgin Mary.¹⁰ In other words, what is transmitted in an oral tradition about how a certain saint or the Virgin Mary interacts with humans, is consciously or unconsciously reflected in the actual cult. Some myths of motifs that can be found in both the ancient and the modern tradition can be revealing as to the parallel that is created between myth and cult. A modern Greek example is the cult of St. Elias, which presents common features with the advice of Tiresias to Odysseus in *Nekuia* (*Od.* 11.100-137). This story has recently been discussed by I. Kakrides and W. Hansen.¹¹ St. Elias is venerated on mountain peaks. The myth presents him holding an oar and wanting to find a place where an oar could be mistaken for just another piece of wood, due to the people's ignorance of the element of the sea. He finally settled down in the mountains. K. Romaïos has argued convincingly, in my view, that this is not just a convenient aetiological myth, but has instead shaped the cult.¹² Recent cult practice is reminiscent of the specific narrative of the story of the Sailor and the Oar and is defined by that. Even if it was simply an *ex eventu* aetiological explanation in its origin, the entire conception of the cult is shaped by the folk narrative around it, outside other 'official' preaching.¹³

With the help of comparative ethnographic material, one is led to believe that what is associated with the encounter between god and mortal in poetic or other narrative is very much present in the

¹⁰ On this matter see the extensive study by J.C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (New York: University Books, 1964), particularly pp. 37-71.

¹¹ W. Hansen, "Greek Mythology and Folklore", in *Approaches to Greek Myth*, ed. L. Edmunds (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 241-272. Hansen notes that "attaching the story of the Sailor and the Oar to a traditional character whose nature or biography is already established in people's minds must inevitably condition the form of the story that results" (247). The same story is discussed in J.T. Kakrides, *Homeric Researches* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1949).

¹² K. Romaïos, *To athanato nero*. Hellenike Laographia 1 (Athens, 1973), 73-77.

¹³ Similar stories reflected in ritual are abundant in Modern Greek tradition. See G. Megas, *Greek Calendar Customs* (Athens: Press and Information Department, Prime Minister's office, 1958), and G. Aikaterinides, "Earina Ethima laikes latreias apo ten perioche Serron", in *Praktika Protou Symposiou Laographias*, Hidryma Meleton Chersonesou tou Haimou 153 (Thessaloniki, 1975), 11-19.

actual cult practice addressed to a specific deity. This is even more the case if we are to think about divine inspiration, nominal as it may be, still being essential for the form and structural framing of poetic production and performance in ancient Greece, as the initial invocation to the muse reveals. Cultic rituals have their own narrative; in Athena's cult practice the mortal seeks to encounter the deity, reaching her very nature. The statues or statuettes, or more often the various *xoana*, often function as her representations in this encounter. In a reverse movement from the scenes of epiphany that we saw in epic, the mortal is in contact with the deity through performing the rites.

At the 'Cleansing Festival' (Plynteria) the statue of Athena was wrapped with a woollen robe that was then removed, so that the women could perform the cleansing of the divine image. This statue was an almost featureless piece of wood that was believed to have fallen from the sky. As N. Robertson describes, "while the robe dried in the sun, the image was decently veiled; afterwards it was anointed and perhaps painted a little and dressed again in the robe. All this was done by girls of like age and mind with the wooden 'girl'".¹⁴ Given the analogies of the context, that is, the participation of the girls, a structural similarity is created in the process of the cleansing and adornment that we see in *Odyssey* book 6, to the actual festival of Plynteria. Regarding Athena's presence in this scene, first, we have the washing of the *eimata*, the clothes of Nausicaa, and secondly, the bathing and adorning of Odysseus, who has been associated with Athena overtly.¹⁵

At the end of this scene, and after Odysseus managed to arrive safely at the palace of King Alcinoos in 7.81, Athena leaves what we know as the Odyssean environment to go to Marathon and Athens to the *pykinon domon* of King Erechtheus. In *Iliad* 2.549 there is another reference to Erechtheus. From a strictly philological point of view this has been considered a later interpolation, and most probably quite justifiably. However, if it is a Peisistrateian interpolation, as the scholiasts suggest, it is striking how the classical Athenian pre-

¹⁴ N. Robertson "Athena's Shrines and Festivals" in *Worshipping Athena. Panathenaia and Parthenon*, ed. J. Neils (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 29.

¹⁵ In the iconographic illustrations of the *Odyssey*, Athena is represented as a war-like goddess even in her encounter with Nausicaa; see O. Touchefeu-Meynier, *Thèmes odysseïens dans l'art antique* (Paris: Editions de Boccard, 1968), nos. 366, 367. This brings a contrast to her apparition in the form of the dream, in which Athena took the role of Nausicaa's friend.

sent emerges in the Homeric poetic discourse.¹⁶ It does not seem to be at all an unknown practice to refer to the Homeric scenes, as archaeological material eminently shows.

In the Aristophanic comedy of the same name, Lysistrata wants to clean the city from war, using an image about a political garment:¹⁷ "As one does with raw wool washed in a bath, after removing the sheep dung, on a bed you have to poke out the bad ones from the city and take out the pickled". She proposes dissolving the war as if untangling the thread (*Lys.* 565-576). The metaphor of the fabric and its smoothing is connected with the civic situation.

Plato's *Euthyphron* 5.b-c connects the Panathenaea practice with the epic past. Socrates asks Euthyphron, "do you admit that there are truly wars among the gods, terrible enmities, battles, and many such things, which poets relate, and which are represented to us by our good artists in various ceremonies, for example at the Great Panathenaea, where we see the *peplos* to be carried to the Acropolis?" Ritual repeats, in one form or another, great events of the past, including those of the mythic past.¹⁸ The Panathenaea certainly have a great deal to tell us about Athena's warlike nature, since her victory in the gigantomachy is depicted on the *peplos* that is woven. The city of Athens offers a woven garment, which depicts on itself a victory, to its patron-goddess. The metaphor of the fabric that is known from Homer, and also the significance of the verb for weaving, which is used for the composition and performance of poetry as well, together with the depiction on the fabric of a battle, remind us of what the poetic representation of the *peplos* weaving is in a war context, such as the Iliadic one.¹⁹

¹⁶ Aristarchus, who believed Homer to have been an Athenian, accepted these lines, whereas Chaeris, his student, rejected them. Athena Polias and Erechtheus were worshipped together in a joint temple on the Acropolis of Athens. There is evidence for this throughout historical times. See A. Heubeck, S. West, and J.B. Hainsworth, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* vol. 1, book vii (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 325-326.

¹⁷ J. Scheid and J. Svenbro, *The Craft of Zeus*, tr. C. Volk (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 15-17.

¹⁸ The celebration of the restoration of order with the arrival of King Erichthonius and Athena, his patron divinity, after the departure of Erechtheus and the goddess during the festival of the Scira, has been seen as a parallel of the return of Odysseus to restore the order in Ithaca; see E.F. Cook, *The Odyssey in Athens* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1996), 143.

¹⁹ For the linguistic connection between weaving and certain performances of the Archaic age, see M. Durante, *Sulla preistoria della tradizione poetica greca* vol. 2 (Rome:

In *Iliad* 6.289, the Trojan women feel threatened by the success of the Greeks, and more specifically by that of Diomedes. Hector asks his mother to fetch the most beautiful *peplos* to be found in the palace that is pleasing to the goddess (6.272) as an offering to her along with the necessary sacrifice in order to get her on their side. Hecuba listens to her son's suggestion and immediately gathers together the other women and the priestess of Athena, Theano, to dedicate the *peplos* to the goddess.²⁰ They were to lay the robe on her knees, which presupposes a seated image of the goddess.²¹ There is a minor but yet important detail in the narrative. We have no clue whatsoever as to what was depicted on that *peplos*, but we do know that it was embroidered all over with works of Sidonian women (6.291) that Paris himself had brought on his way back after abducting Helen. The embroidery made it shine like a star. But still Athena rejected their offering and their prayer (6.311). Again, if we try to look through the Trojan women's eyes, the fact that their prayer was rejected would seem inexplicable. It is, however, justified to the listener or reader of the *Iliad* who knows that gods are entitled to have their own preferences. However, there is a technical detail in the ritual dedication to Athena that does explain the failure, namely the fact that it was a work made by the hands of Sidonian women, and not by the Trojan women themselves. Athena is presented in her epiphanies to mortals in a context of empathy, and she transforms her nature to fit that of the mortal in question. In the reverse, here – in the appeal of the Trojan women to the goddess – if we are to view their attempt to win the goddess through this spectrum of empathy poetics, they do something very wrong: they do not give their own work to her, but that of others. Its beauty is not enough to win Athena. Shining like a star it may be, but you cannot

Edizioni dell' Ateneo, 1976), 159-162, and Scheid and Svenbro, *Craft*, 21 who refer to the linguistic play in Bacchylides 5 *hymnos hyphainein*.

²⁰ The scene in *Iliad* 6, in which Hecuba dedicates the finest *peplos* she owns to Athena, has been connected with an illustration on the neck of a relief pithos from Boeotia dating from the second quarter of the seventh century, now displayed in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The iconography is that of a procession. See R. Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien* (Athens: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1936), 56ff., and C. Calame *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece: Their morphology, Religious Role, and Social Function*, tr. D. Collins and J. Orion (New York and London: Rowman and Littlefield, 1997), 69.

²¹ W. Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical*, tr. J. Raffan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 89.

get the warrior Athena on your side if you do not get *Ergane* Athena on your side as well. The *peplos* is an attribute of Athena that she particularly cherishes. The fact that the city of Athens presented to her the *peplos* depicting a Gigantomachy every four years associates it with a magic power symbolizing the goddess' protection that grants victory.²² According to Diodorus (4.14.3), when Heracles returned from a heroic deed to a life of festivals and games, each god gave him a gift connected with the divine attributes of their divinity. Athena's gift was a *peplos*. Her garment signifies the duality in her nature. She is the one who worked with her own hands the *peplos*. It is an artefact that she herself makes in order to give away, and it is, therefore, an incarnation of her role in the mythic narrative, that is to be reproduced in the ritual tradition.²³ Moreover, her nature as *Parthenos* is reinforced by the fact that she wears on her body the product of her work. As Loraux argues, "the autarchic goddess, Athena, seems to live within a closed circuit, and there is no breach giving another access to her".²⁴ She takes back what her hand had made.

In the Panathenaea, this is certainly the mistake that is being avoided: the memory of the equivalent *peplos* offering to the goddess has passed to the cult practice. Athena is the goddess who taught the women how to weave and she can be demanding in all details.²⁵ The making of the *peplos* and the investiture of the statue of Athena *Polias* in Athens constituted a central act of the festival. By putting the *peplos* on the statue, one's own work is invested with everything that this work has represented to the goddess (anxiety to finish it, attempt to reach perfection). Svenbro suggests that the festival of the Panathenaea has a unifying nature, since it was founded by Theseus to celebrate the unifications of the 'hamlets' of Attica.²⁶ If we also

²² See N. Loraux, *The Experiences of Tiresias: The Feminine and the Greek Man*, tr. P. Wissing (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 126.

²³ See Loraux, *Tiresias*, 222: "one would not be too surprised to discover that ordinarily a *peplos* served as an object to be circulated, rarely worn by the one who wove it, always given away. Thus in book 14, Hera will wear a dress that Athena wove for her".

²⁴ *Ibid.* 223.

²⁵ Throughout Greek literature Athena is depicted most notably as the helper of heroes, whereas her relation to women's lives is often underplayed. See L.E. Doherty, *Siren Songs: Gender, Audiences, and Narrators in the Odyssey* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 174.

²⁶ Scheid and Svenbro, *Craft*, 19.

take into account what the fabric symbolizes, then it is via the work of these women that the entire community is to be blessed by the goddess. This has its own parallel in the mythic narrative, since it is via one hero that his comrades will benefit. With the help that Achilles receives from Athena, for example in *Iliad* 1, when she stops him in his fight with Agamemnon, she helps all the Achaeans.²⁷ As Scheid and Svenbro argue, the investiture of Athena *Polias* “included a highly communal sacrifice: the city, its colonies, and allies were all required to furnish cows as victims. Thus, we see another structural analogy to the scene depicted in *Iliad* 6 of the Trojan women’s offering. Along with the ritual weaving to produce clothes for the city goddess, or even ‘for the people’, the sacrificial sharing aimed to enact and rekindle the social and political unity”.²⁸ The weaving of the *peplos* was a significant civic honour. Maidens who worked the wool took part in the procession and dedicated (at their own expense) a silver cup to the goddess. They were honoured at their fathers’ request by a public decree (*IG* II.2 1034). Votive statues were set up for *arrhephoroi* on the Acropolis, and at least one *arrephoros* was named after the Trojan priestess (*IG* II.2 3634).²⁹ In this way it is not only the case that genuine work from Athenian hands is needed to be put in the weaving offered to the Athenian goddess, but it is also through specific women’s work that the entire community will benefit.

Returning to the starting point of the epic, we see that in the epiphany scenes, the goddess often appears in disguise and takes different roles, and mortals act accordingly even if they have sensed the deity. In *Odyssey* 13, there is the famous encounter of Athena with Odysseus after he has landed on Ithaca. She takes the role of a shepherd (13.222) and appears to him disguised. Odysseus is not oblivious to her game and continues it, and reacts to her speech by

²⁷ In her address to Achilles, Athena lacks the authority of a superior to an inferior. As R.P. Martin argues, there are “similarities between this theophany and the messenger-arrival motif: a reason for coming is stated; the authority of the sender is cited; motivation and new information is given”, R.P. Martin, *The Language of Heroes: Speech and Performance in the Iliad* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press 1989), 49. Athena again uses a diplomatic strategy in her intervention in mortal/heroic affairs, she takes into account the fact that Achilles is himself “an authoritative speaker” (*ibid.*) and acts accordingly.

²⁸ Scheid and Svenbro, *Craft*, 19.

²⁹ Lefkowitz, “Women”, 80.

giving her a rather long, fake speech, in which he responds intelligently to the theatrical play set up between them. Athena does not reveal the name of Ithaca until the end of a long speech (13.237-249). He is cautious not to reveal his true identity.³⁰ At this point we have a full epiphany of the goddess. All masks drop, and it is time for the truth and for revelations. A ritual antagonism is played out here, since Odysseus is famous in *bouleï kai muthoisi*, and she in *meti kai kerdesi*.³¹ He is her male counterpart, in a sense he is what Zeus is in their shared cult.³² He does not possess *metis*, and she being the daughter of *Metis*, incarnates it and offers it to him (*hina soi metin hypheno*). The verb *hypheno* here alludes to the material terms in which we have seen Athena depicted and now acting. In these lines, she is revealing her true role, in a climax of previous admonitions and apparitions. The cult practice addressed to her must seek her real identity, that which incorporates the duality of *Promachos* and *Ergane*, these being the two sides of the same coin. She is the incarnation of *metis*, of a *metis* that permeates all aspects of life, and she is willing to offer it to those who worship her, provided that they partake of this part of her nature.

At the exact opposite end of this spectrum is Athena's epiphany to Hector in book 22 of the *Iliad*. Hector is tricked by the goddess who appears to him disguised as his brother Deiphobus in both shape and voice (22.226). Unlike Odysseus, Hector fails to see beyond the apparent and believes that it is his brother who urges him

³⁰ The same structure is repeated when Penelope withholds her recognition of Odysseus until he tells the true story of the bed's construction. Therefore, as Doherty remarks, Penelope "is added to the equation, for she, the pivotal 'helper' of subordinate status (and a female like Athena), is likewise portrayed as sharing the hero's characteristic *metis* – and using it for his benefit": Doherty, *Siren Songs*, 174-175. For a detailed study of Athena's role as foil for Odysseus and Penelope, see ead., "Athena and Penelope as Foils for Odysseus in the *Odyssey*", *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 39 (1991), 31-44.

³¹ P. Pucci remarks that "Athena represents in this scene the aggrandized, divine image of the hero's force and destiny, of his *metis*. *Metis* is ruse, shrewdness, cunning, magic, transformation, changeability, unseizability". He adds that "in this way she anticipates and doubles his newest fiction and story (256ff.), when Odysseus in his turn presents a disguised version of himself and behaves as deceptively as Athena does in her disguise. The hero and his tutelary goddess complement each other perfectly". P. Pucci *Odysseus Polytropos: Intertextual readings in the Odyssey and the Iliad* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press 1987), 103.

³² See K. Kerenyi, *Athena: Virgin and Mother in Greek Religion*, tr. M. Stein (Woodstock, CT: Spring Publications, 1978), 25. For Athena as the 'alter ego of Zeus', see J. Neils, this volume.

to fight. Later, when he loses the final duel with Achilles, he calls to his brother for a spear, but the brother cannot help him, and he realizes that it was Athena who deceived him (22.299).³³ As R. Martin suggests, the heroes in the Homeric poems possess individual characteristics: they are not “merely literary constructs, but are based on a deeper social reality”.³⁴ Following on from this argument, I want to suggest further that the heroic presence in epic narrative, and in particular the relation between the mortal and the divine spheres, is reflected back on social reality.³⁵ As we saw in the epiphany scenes of Athena, in the cases where Athena functions as the patron of a warrior, the hero is expected to reincarnate with his behaviour the nature that the goddess reveals to him. The hero partakes in the goddess's nature to the extent that a mortal can, just as the goddess transforms her figure in order to help the hero. To develop Martin's arguments about heroes as performers, and viewing the scenes in the perspective of speech-act theory, we see that Athena establishes a certain role with the heroes she protects, to which the hero responds accordingly. If Athena becomes a warrior, then the warrior should seek the identity of his patron goddess. Any failure to comply with these rules breaks the collaboration, and brings destruction. This nexus of relations is established not only between the goddess and individual heroes, but also in community ritual, as we saw in the episode with the Trojan women.

Before summing up, I would like to present another example of Athena's presence in poetic discourse, in a text that suited a specific civic occasion: Pindar's *Pythian* 12. This poem was composed in 490 BC in honour of a certain Midas of Acragas in Sicily, winner of the flute contest at Delphi. It is the only surviving victory song that was performed for the winner of a flute contest. Athena and Medusa are the main divine figures, and they stand in extreme opposition to

³³ For a detailed account of this scene, see H. Mackie, *Talking Trojan: Speech and Community in the Iliad* (Lanham, ML, New York and London: Rowman and Littlefield, 1996), 116-117.

³⁴ Martin, *Language*, 98.

³⁵ The Chorus in Euripides' *Heraclidae* incorporates this relation with the divine. As T. Papadopoulou remarks, “the Chorus' appeal to Athena in the last stanza is based on a *do ut des* mentality, when they invite her to recall all the honours that the Athenians pay to her during their celebration of the Panathenaea (777-783)”: see T. Papadopoulou, this volume, p. 295.

one another.³⁶ In this poem we hear of the victory of Perseus against Medusa with the crucial help of Athena. The first two stanzas relate the myth about the birth of a female voice that Athena invented, weaving it from the death-cry of the Gorgons (lines 6-10). Athena transformed Medusa's wail into a flute-song.³⁷ As Segal argues, this competition between the maternal and the virginal that ends in the flute's transformation from the Gorgon's monstrous wail to an instrument of Athena's artistry reflects the incorporation of the otherness of female creative energy into the polis.³⁸ In Pindar the myth is used to serve the occasion. In this respect, Midas' victory in the actual flute contest of Delphi is equated with Perseus' victory that was the *action* for the invention of flute-song. Therefore, the poetic discourse is presented to match the occasion of the poem's performance. Perseus has many features in common with his patron goddess. Just as Athena was born fully armed from her father's head, thus avoiding any contact with a bloody birth from the female, in the same way the conception of Perseus from Zeus in the form of a shower of gold neutralizes the maternal element.³⁹ Pindar presents Athena's musical invention in order to celebrate Midas' success. Thus, Pindar's art parallels Athena's in weaving an ode as a metaphorical 'garland' of victory.⁴⁰ Segal re-

³⁶ As C. Segal remarks, "Medusa belongs to the older, pre-Olympian order...she embodies flux, process, and animality, whereas Athena, sprung from the head of Zeus, is untouched by female birth, never bleeds or is wounded, and is the most committed of the gods to the male-dominated order of Olympus": C. Segal, "The Gorgon and the Nightingale: The voice of Female Lament and Pindar's Twelfth *Pythian Ode*", in *Aglaia: The Poetry of Alcman, Sappho, Pindar, Bacchylides, and Corinna* (Lanham and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998), 86.

³⁷ The defeating of the enemy and the transformation of the enemy's attributes is not an uncommon feature in myth. In Euripides' *Ion* Athena has control of the Gorgon's blood. One drop provides cure, whereas another gives death (*Ion* 999f). Asclepius receives from Athena Gorgon's blood, and uses the blood coming from the left veins for destruction, and the blood coming from the right veins for salvation (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.3). On the voice of Athena, the Gorgon, and the flute, see also the chapter by A. Serghidou, this volume.

³⁸ Segal, "Gorgon", 97.

³⁹ As L.A. May argues, the birth of Athena was a cultural event, since it was accomplished like a caesarian section by means of technological invention. She writes "the goddess was born from the head of a man, thereby dissociating herself from the danger of pollution by the 'weaker sex' in general and the female genitalia in particular. She was born fully clothed with the social and cultural skills of an adult", L.A. May, "The enigma of the Athena Parthenos", in *Popular Religion. Visible Religion* 3 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984), 110.

⁴⁰ The image of a 'garland of victory' is put forward in line 5 of *Pythian* 12.

marks that "the aesthetic form of the ode is itself a victory over Gorgonic dissonance; and the ode, like Athena, absorbs and neutralizes this dissonance by incorporating it into a larger design".⁴¹ Therefore, the myth of the ode is projected upon the performance setting of a victory celebration. The goddess is brought together, in parallel terms, with the hero in the myth, and consequently with the winner of the musical contest.

Poetry and ritual meet in Athena's cult practice in the Panathenaea. As Nagy suggested, the cult object of Athena's peplos is connected to the notion of *hymnos*, and the re-performance of Homeric poetry is paralleled with the re-weaving of the peplos.⁴²

As Seaford argues, the performance of Homer at the Panathenaea, like ritual, provided the polis with shared emotion and paradigms of action.⁴² In this chapter I have focused on narrative that presents Athena in a direct interaction with mortals. As I have argued, the kind of relations that are established in the narrative have equivalent instances, and are repeated, in the context of fifth century Athenian cult practice. Therefore, subtle nuances of the epic narrative are well understood by the Athenian audience, and are reflected in cult.

⁴¹ Segal, "Gorgon", 98.

⁴² See G. Nagy, "Homeric hymnos as a Rhapsodie Term", in *Una nueva vision de la cultura griega antigua hacia el fin del milenio*, ed. A.M. Gonzalez de Tobia (La Plata: Editorial de la Universidad Nacional de La Plata, 2000), 385-401. I am grateful to Professor Nagy for allowing me to see his article before publication. See also id., "Homer and Plato at the Panathenaea: Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives", in *Contextualizing Classics: Ideology, Performance, Dialogue: Essays in Honor of John J. Peradotto*, ed. T.M. Falkner, N. Felson, and D. Konstan (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), 127-155.

⁴³ See R. Seaford, *Reciprocity and Ritual: Homer and Tragedy in the Developing City-State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), xvi.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

REPRESENTATIONS OF ATHENA IN GREEK TRAGEDY

Thalia Papadopoulou

1. *Introduction*

Athena is an interesting divinity to think with, not least because of her many aspects. The child of Zeus, born from his own head, a feature which stresses her close relationship with the Father of the gods; a warrior-goddess who transgresses the division between the sexes; the helper of many heroes as well as the protectress of cities, to mention but a few.¹

Athena's role was prominent especially in Athens, the very name of which is related to the goddess. The association of their city with Athena was, after all, constantly emphasized by the Athenians, from Athena's competition with Poseidon for the possession of Athens,² to her relationship with Erichthonius/Erechtheus³ and, by extension, with Athenian autochthony,⁴ to her patronage of Theseus,⁵ the Athenian hero *par excellence*. In this respect, the examination of Athena in Greek tragedy becomes all the more interesting if we think in particular of theatre as the pride of democratic Athens and

¹ For a concise summary of these and other aspects of Athena, see R. Parker, in *OCD* 201-202 s.v. Athena.

² On this competition, see N. Loraux, *The Children of Athena: Athenian Ideas about Citizenship and the Division between the Sexes*, tr. C. Levine (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 23-26, 38; F.I. Zeitlin, "The Dynamics of Misogyny: Myth and Mythmaking in Aeschylus's *Oresteia*", in *Playing the Other: Gender and Society in Classical Greek Literature* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 115-116.

³ On Erichthonius/Erechtheus (and the controversial issue of their identity), see U. Kron, in *LIMC* 4 (1988), 923-951 s.v. Erechtheus.

⁴ On Athenian autochthony, see Loraux, *Children of Athena*.

⁵ On the relationship between Athena and Theseus, see G. Beckel, *Götterbeistand in der Bildüberlieferung griechischer Heldensagen* (Waldsassen/Bayern: Stiffland-Verlag, 1961), 68-71; J. Neils, in *LIMC* 7 (1994), 947-948, 950 s.v. Theseus; E. Simon, "Theseus and Athenian Festivals", in *Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia and Parthenon*, ed. J. Neils (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 17.

of Athena as the patron-goddess of this city and also as the representative of its democratic state.⁶

What follows is a discussion of some of the representations of Athena in Greek tragedy. For reasons of convenience I have divided my material into two sections. In the first I discuss Athena's function in tragedies in which there are only references to her, while in the second I examine her role in tragedies in which she appears in person. Such a discussion within the limited length of an essay is necessarily selective; my aim is to highlight the most important aspects and associations of Athena in extant Greek tragedy.

2. *References to Athena*

What is emphatically stressed in Greek tragedy in general is Athena as a civic goddess, in her role as the protectress of cities. Her standard role as protectress of Athens is evident as early as Aeschylus' *Persae*, when the Messenger says that "the gods save the city of the goddess Pallas" (347). What the Messenger – and he is a barbarian – points out here is the special bond between city and goddess, in the sense that the expression 'city of Pallas' is interchangeable with 'Athens'; in the next line, spoken by the queen of the Persians, the city is called 'Athens' (348). It is this special bond between city and patron goddess, enhanced in linguistic terms, which lies behind the numerous references in Greek tragedy (and not only there) to Athens as 'the city of Athena' or 'the city of Pallas'.⁷ Another important point made by the Messenger, the representative of the defeated Persian army, is the favourable attitude of the gods towards the city of Pallas; Athens never incurs the anger of the gods in Greek tragedy,⁸ and if there is a threat against the city, either by divine powers (e.g. in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* or Euripides' *Erechtheus*) or by human arms (e.g. in Euripides' *Supplikes*), the patron goddess intervenes to offer protection.

⁶ On the importance of Athena particularly in the Athenian democracy, see e.g. I. Kasper-Butz, *Die Göttin Athena im klassischen Athen: Athena als Repräsentantin des demokratischen Staates* (Frankfurt a.M.: P. Lang, 1990).

⁷ E.g. Soph. *OC* 107-108 (where both 'Athens' and 'city of Pallas' are mentioned); Eur. *Med.* 771; Eur. *Hec.* 466.

⁸ Cf. R. Parker, "Gods Cruel and Kind: Tragic and Civic Theology", in *Greek Tragedy and the Historian*, ed. C. Pelling (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 155.

In Euripides' *Heraclidae*, for example, the suppliant Iolaus expresses his confidence in Athena, who is the best ally one can have (351) because she does not stand defeat (352), a clear reference to Athena-Nike. In the third stasimon (748-783), which covers the battle between Athenians and Argives, Athena is one of the gods whom the Chorus call to support Athens (753-754), while the special bond between the city and its patron-goddess is in fact described as maternal (770-772). The Chorus' appeal to Athena also stresses that the Argives fight for an unjust cause (773), which also implies Athena's concern for justice. The Chorus' appeal to Athena in the last stanza is based on a *do ut des* mentality, when they invite her to recall all the honours that the Athenians pay to her during their celebration of the Panathenaea (777-783). The festive mood with which the stasimon closes prepares for the Messenger's announcement of the Athenian victory which follows; apart from Heracles' help for the cause of the Heraclidae, the victory is invested with a sense of divine assistance, exemplified above all by Zeus (867, 869; cf. 766-768), the patron of the suppliants and also the grandfather of the Heraclidae; but in view of the references made to Athena, it is rather difficult to detach the goddess also from the Athenian victory.

Athena was also associated with Thebes. In the parodos of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, which follows the description of the plague that ruins the city of Thebes, the Chorus call on the gods for aid and invoke Athena, the daughter of Zeus, first (159).⁹ It is the function of Athena as the protectress of the same city which we see in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*. Here the disaster which threatens the city is the Argive attack and the Chorus call on, among other gods, Pallas, the mighty warrior-goddess and daughter of Zeus, to save the city (128-130). In the same ode Onca Athena¹⁰ is also called to save the seven gates of Thebes (164-165), while the Messenger's report that Hippomedon stands at the gate near Onca Athena's abode (486-488) is answered by Eteocles' affirmation that Onca Athena will destroy the arrogant warrior (501-503).

The association between the welfare of Thebes and Athena as one of its divine protectors is illustrated in another tragedy which

⁹ For the paean-like aspects of the ode, see R.D. Dawe (ed.), *Sophocles: Oedipus Rex* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), on 154.

¹⁰ On Onca Athena, see G.O. Hutchinson (ed.), *Aeschylus: Seven Against Thebes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), on 487.

dramatizes Theban myth, that is, Euripides' *Phoenissae*, where the Chorus relate the role that Athena played in the foundation of the city; in particular, how Cadmus, following Athena's instructions (667; cf. 1062-1065), slew the dragon and sowed the earth with the dragon's teeth, from which the earthborn Spartoi sprang. Again, as in the case of Athens and Athena's association with Athenian autochthony,¹¹ so in the case of Thebes a special bond is established between the goddess and the city via autochthony;¹² autochthony, which negates the necessity of motherhood for procreation, is in both cases easily associated with Athena, whose very birth from the head of Zeus puts aside the need for the importance of a mother. It is also Athena's special bond with Thebes which, as Zeitlin¹³ aptly notes, not only justifies Eteocles' appeal to her for victory in his duel with his brother (1372-1375), but also seems to lie behind the prayer of the women of the Chorus to the goddess to become "mothers blessed with excellent children" (1060-1062), a prayer which, following Menoeceus' patriotic self-sacrifice, stresses not so much the maternal bond *per se* between mother and child, but the connection in particular of motherhood and country.¹⁴

With Athena, then, we are primarily in the public and civic

¹¹ On Athena's role within Athenian autochthony, see Loraux, *Children of Athena*, *passim*. As Loraux shows, the autochthony myth excludes Athenian women from civic discourse, but makes Athena central to it.

¹² It may perhaps seem odd that comparable factors govern the representation of Athena/autochthony in Thebes and in Athens, if one considers the importance given in recent scholarship to the status of Thebes in tragedy as 'anti-Athens'. I am referring to Zeitlin's influential work on Thebes as the 'other' of Athens: F.I. Zeitlin, "Thebes: Theater of Self and Society in Athenian Drama", in *Nothing to do with Dionysos?: Athenian Drama in its Social Context*, ed. J.J. Winkler and F.I. Zeitlin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 130-167 [article originally published in 1986]; ead., "Staging Dionysus between Thebes and Athens", in *Masks of Dionysus*, ed. T.H. Carpenter and C.A. Faraone (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 147-182. However, it should be noted that, although Zeitlin's proposed model is particularly insightful, the universality of its applicability has been challenged. See, e.g., P.E. Easterling, "City Settings in Greek Poetry", *Proceedings of the Classical Association* 86 (1989), 13-14; ead., "Oedipe à Colone: Personnages et Réception", in *Sophocle: Le Texte, les Personnages*, ed. A. Machin and L. Pernée (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1993), 196-197; O. Taplin, "Spreading the Word through Performance", in *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*, ed. S. Goldhill and R. Osborne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 50-51.

¹³ Zeitlin, "Staging Dionysus", 162.

¹⁴ This special connection between motherhood and country, which subordinates family to the city's welfare, is exploited by Euripides in his *Erechtheus* (see my discussion in section 3b). In relation to the public, as opposed to private, connotations of

sphere; this is also evident in Sophocles' *Antigone*, where Eurydice's announced intention to address prayers to Pallas (1183-1185) after she has heard of the family disaster (1187) is never fulfilled. As Zeitlin¹⁵ suggests, the reason may be that the civic function of Athena seems to have nothing to do with a disaster which is entirely a family affair.

3. *Epiphanies of Athena*

Let us now have a look at tragedies in which the goddess appears in person, that is, where there is an epiphany of Athena. Without wishing to be too schematic, one may say that the function of Athena's epiphanies in Greek tragedy may be broadly categorized under two headings: a) Athena and the epic tradition (Sophocles' fragmentary *Aias Lokros*, Euripides' *Troades*, [Euripides'] *Rhesus*),¹⁶ b) Athena and Athens/Athena and aetiology (Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, Euripides' *Supplikes*, *Ion*, the fragmentary *Erechtheus*). Finally, Sophocles' *Ajax* and Euripides' *Heracles* share characteristics of both categories and they will therefore be discussed together as a separate category.

a) *Athena and the epic tradition*

Athena appears in the fragmentary *Aias Lokros* (fr. 10c Radt), a play about Ajax, the son of Oileus, who incurred Athena's wrath after violating Cassandra in the goddess's temple. What we have is part of Athena's speech, probably in her role as a *dea ex machina*, in which she expresses her anger against Ajax and also rebukes the Greeks, who did not punish him. The outrageous behaviour of Ajax is described as an act against gods, as it is compared with Salmoneus' challenge against Zeus himself, while the Greeks' toleration of Ajax's outrage is also taken as a violation of divine laws, since the

Athena's 'maternity', see Loraux, *Children of Athena*, *passim*, on femininity in public, male-centred contexts.

¹⁵ Zeitlin, "Staging Dionysus", 161.

¹⁶ For the possibility of Athena's appearance in other tragedies, see T.B.L. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides* (London: Methuen, 1967), on *Andromeda*, *Meleager*, and *Auge*. For *Andromeda*, see F. Bubel (ed.), *Euripides: Andromeda* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1991), esp. 61-62.

Greeks are described as the descendants of Dryas, who was the father of Lycurgus, a famous *theomachos*. Thus, Athena here is the upholder of order and justice on behalf of the gods in general, while her outburst of anger, which suggests the imposition of serious punishment, seems to be justified in terms of the human outrage committed; in other words, Athena seems to represent both divine power and divine concern for human piety. However, due to the fragmentary form of the play, we cannot have a complete picture of Athena in it.

Athena appears in person in association with events in Troy also in [Euripides'] *Rhesus*. In particular, she appears to Odysseus and Diomedes after their slaughter of Dolon. Her traditional relationship with Odysseus, her protégé, is clear from Odysseus' address to her (608-610).¹⁷ Athena's urge to them to kill Rhesus is crucial because she informs them that if Rhesus survives the night, then no Greek can stop him from destroying the Greek army. Not only does Athena's intervention prevent the Greek defeat and total disaster,¹⁸ but her saying that everything depends upon whether or not Rhesus survives the night seems to open up the possibility that the divine order might not be immutable: things are predicted to happen, but changes are at least conceivable.¹⁹ On the other hand, when Athena alone sees that Paris is approaching and Diomedes considers this a good opportunity to kill him (633, cf. his previous wish at 585-586), she warns him that he cannot go beyond what is fated (634), explaining that it is not fated for Paris to be killed by Diomedes (635).²⁰ Athena is thus the representative of an inviolable divine framework. It is during this exchange that Athena says that she will actually appear to Paris in the form of Aphrodite, which she soon afterwards does; in her dialogue with Paris we indeed see Athena in her association with deception, as we know her from Homer or from Sopho-

¹⁷ Odysseus' address to Athena is similar to his address to her in Soph. *Aj.* 14-16. For Athena as the helper of Odysseus in tragedy, cf. Soph. *Phil.* 134, where Odysseus asks for Athena's help. For a list of the heroes who had Athena's patronage, see P. Demargne, in *LIMC* 2 (1984), 1003 s.v. Athena.

¹⁸ In fact, the importance of Athena here for preventing the Greek defeat (in terms of defence) seems to be almost parallel to her securing the Greek victory by means of the Wooden Horse (in terms of attack).

¹⁹ This recalls Athena's prophesied one-day anger in Sophocles' *Ajax*, and the question whether Ajax will survive the day or not (see below on *Ajax*).

²⁰ Cf. 974-978, where Rhesus' mother says that it is fated that Achilles should die, in which case Athena, Achilles' supporter, will not save him.

cles' *Ajax*.²¹ In a sudden shift²² (668) Athena addresses Odysseus and Diomedes again and urges them to leave; her address is again crucial since it informs the two Greeks that their enemies are after them.

Some of these associations of Athena also appear in Euripides' *Troades*, another tragedy about Troy, only here the audience is provided with different, even self-contradictory, aspects of the same divinity. Here Athena makes clear in the prologue that the punishment of the Greeks has the sanction of Zeus, when she says that Zeus himself will send destruction to the Greeks (78-79), and that he also promised to give Athena his thunderbolt to burn the Greek ships (80-81). It is only Athena who in fact has access to Zeus' thunderbolt (as in Aesch. *Eum.* 827-828). We witness the special relationship between Athena and Zeus;²³ what is more important, we see in the foretold punishment a plan which seems to establish the gods' concern for human piety and order. It is this divine *prolepsis* of the future Greek disaster which makes *Troades* a double tragedy, that of the Trojans as well as that of the Greeks, and which invests every single demonstration of victorious exaltation on the part of the Greeks with a deep irony.

However, the Greek disaster which is to come does not bring Troy back. It is this bitter reality that the constant portrayal of the Trojan mourning on stage depicts; and it is the gods' role in the annihilation of Troy which is in this respect called into question. If the prologue reassures us about divine concern for justice and piety, a concern proven in the gods' punishment of outrage, what are we to make of Troy's destruction? The Trojans repeatedly note that the gods have deserted Troy, a fact which is evident in the prologue, where Poseidon is about to leave his beloved city now that it is fallen. But we hear also in detail about Athena's crucial part in the destruction of the city, in the famous choral ode about the fatal Wooden Horse and the night of the Fall of Troy. In this ode, in fact, we witness the double role of Athena in Troy. She was a protectress deity of Troy, having a temple in the city's acropolis. She was a Trojan goddess (526), and her people brought the Wooden Horse to

²¹ E.g. in Hom. *Il.* 22.214-298, where Athena, in order to protect Achilles, deceives Hector by appearing to him in the form of his brother. For *Ajax*, see below.

²² There is no need to imagine that she is suddenly supposed to appear to them again; divine voices can be heard from afar (cf. Eur. *IT* 1447).

²³ On the relationship between Athena and Zeus, see J. Neils in this volume.

her as a gift (525-526, 535-536) and rejoiced with celebrations. But destruction for Troy was what followed, as “war rushed from the hiding place, the work of Pallas” (560-561; cf. 10). Athena, the patroness of craftsmanship,²⁴ here finds the practical means to destroy Troy, while her role as a ‘local’ deity and protectress of Troy is annulled because in this War she is the enemy of Troy. The Trojans’ vain faith in their guardian deity here recalls their vain appeal to her, voiced by her priestess, for assistance in *Iliad* 6 (286-310), and followed by the narrator’s remark (311) about Athena’s refusal to help.²⁵

The reason, of course, for Athena’s support of the Greeks in the Trojan War was the outcome of Paris’ Judgement, which Poseidon already alludes to when he says that Hera and Athena destroyed Troy (23-24). The Judgement is, in fact, introduced into the agon between Helen and Hecuba as an issue for debate. With regard to Athena’s part in particular Helen says that this goddess promised Paris the destruction of Greece by the Trojan army under his leadership (925-926). Hecuba, on the other hand, says that she cannot believe that the goddess would be willing to enslave Athens to the Trojans (974), and in fact her view is that the beauty-contest never took place (975-976). The whole argumentation of Hecuba’s speech may seem appealing, while Hecuba’s overall portrayal, when viewed against the presentation of Helen, is designed to win our sympathy; but what is important is that Hecuba is ‘wrong’. The Judgement is a datum of the myth, and the points that Hecuba makes about the goddesses stress even more the motivation behind Hera’s and Athena’s behaviour. Hearing Hecuba after having heard Helen, we

²⁴ For Athena as patroness of craftsmanship in tragedy, cf. her epithet Ἐργόνη ‘the Craftswoman’, in Soph. fr. 844 Radt, on which see C. Bérard, “Le Liknon d’Athéna: Sur un aspect de la Procession des Chalkeia et en Prolégomènes à une Histoire de la Vannerie Grecque”, *Antike Kunst* 19 (1976), 101-114. For Athena *Ergane* in Athens, see e.g. A. Di Vita, “Atena *Ergane* in una Terracotta della Sicilia ed il Culto della Dea in Atene”, *ASAA*, 14-15 (1952-54), 141-154; also F. Graf, S. Milanezi and A. Serghidou in this volume. Cf. also the references or allusions in tragedy to the weaving of the *peplos* for the Panathenaea in Euripides’ *IT* 222-224; *Hec.* 466-474; *Ion* 209-210 (see K.H. Lee [ed.], *Euripides: Ion* [Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1997] *ad loc.*) and references to weaving *passim*. See E.J.W. Barber, “The Peplos of Athena”, in *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*, ed. J. Neils (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 103-117.

²⁵ On the supplication to Athena in Hom. *Il.* 6, see A. Karanika, this volume, p. 285.

can well believe that Athena really was ready to offer Greece to Paris in order to win a beauty-contest.

Thus, if in the prologue we witness Athena as the guardian of human propriety, and hear that destruction of the Greeks is a punishment for outrage, we also hear about a capricious Athena (cf. 67-68), whose enmity towards the Trojans and eventual destruction of them was the result of her loss in a beauty-contest. In both cases, to be sure, we see the manifestation of divine power, but the character as well as the influence of this power upon human action is quite different.

b) *Athena and Athens / Athena and aetiology*

Cultic aetiology, which links myth with contemporary reality, and which is an important element for the self-definition of the *polis*, although not, of course, absent from Aeschylean and Sophoclean tragedy, becomes a recurrent characteristic in Euripidean tragedy, and the association of Athena with Athens and aetiology occurs in the tragedies where the goddess appears as a *dea ex machina*.

This is the case in Euripides' *Supplices*, a tragedy which is in many respects a glorification of Athens. When the battle between Athens and Thebes is still uncertain (706), Theseus, the Athenian king *par excellence*, urges his men to fight by saying that unless they stop the Thebans the 'cause of Pallas' will perish (711-712). The Chorus had similarly described the Athenian army as 'the army of Pallas Athena' (601). In this respect, the audience is invited to think that Athena was also present in the battle and secured its successful outcome for the Athenians (cf. her implied presence also in another Athenian battle, in the *Heraclidae*). Theseus points out that the safety of Athens depends on Athena's favour for the city (1230-1231) and thus echoes Aethra's opening address to the gods to secure the welfare of Athens (1-4); it is the safety of Athens, after all, that is stressed throughout the play. In the *Supplices*, then, Athena is presented as the patron-goddess of Athens, the divinity who oversees Athenian ideals, protects her city and guarantees its welfare.

Athena appears as a *dea ex machina* also in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*. Before her appearance, there was a reference to her by Iphigenia, when she said that she was involved in human sacrifices instead of weaving a robe with a depiction of Athena's fight against the Titans (222-224). This is a clear reference for the audience to

the Panathenaea and the city of Athens, following another reference to the Argive Hera. If Argos and Hera come naturally in Iphigenia's words, the reference to Athena and the evocation of an Athenian context seem to be introduced for other reasons. We have also heard about Athens, when Orestes says that Apollo had sent him to the barbarian land in order to get hold of Artemis' statue and bring it to Athens (90-91), and he later tells Iphigenia about his trial in the Areopagus and Pallas' help (965-966; cf. 1469-1471), as well as Apollo's command about the statue (977-978).

The references to Athena either by name or via her city seem in a certain way to justify her appearance at the end. In fact, her intervention is prompt, since it prevents Thoas from chasing the three fugitives (Iphigenia, Orestes, Pylades) and also from punishing (1431-1433; cf. 1299) the members of the Chorus for their complicity in the escape. Athena's words suggest that the course of events, which now necessitates the escape, is according to fate. Athena and Apollo join forces and Athena also secures Poseidon's aid (as we saw in *Troades*); Poseidon's help is needed to remove the waves which till then obstructed the escape, as the Messenger had reported (1394-1397). There is a sense, then, of wider divine workings,²⁶ the common aim of which is to facilitate and secure the escape to Athens. Athena's instructions to Orestes and Iphigenia also suggest that Artemis' consent to the course of the events has been secured, since they arrange for the Attic cult of Artemis Brauronia, while Athena also tells Thoas to send the Greek women of the Chorus to Greece (1467-1468). Athena's intervention solves an impasse and brings reconciliation, while her instructions, which, as happens often with a *deus ex machina*, both connect myth with cult and are followed with assent. In this play Athena is presented both as the goddess of Athens and as the representative of the divine establishment.

Athena's special bond with Athens is of fundamental importance in Euripides' *Ion*, where her role²⁷ is largely centred upon her association with Erichthonius and with her civic function in Athens. The Chorus pray to 'my' Athena (453-454) to assist the Erechtheid

²⁶ As with 'fate' at 1438, so at 1486 Athena implies that there is a wider framework, which governs both gods and humans.

²⁷ On this role, see for example F.I. Zeitlin, "Mysteries of Identity and Designs of the Self in Euripides' *Ion*", in *Playing the Other*, 299-300; Loraux, *Children of Athena*, 184-236 *passim*; Lee, *Euripides: Ion*, 33.

race by blessing it with birth and fertility (469-471). Strange though it may at first seem, addressed as it is to a goddess who was not born by a mother but from Zeus' head (452-457) and virgin (466), the reference is justified in the episode (492-508) with a reference to Athena's association with Erichthonius.

Athena intervenes promptly in order to prevent Ion from seeking an answer from Apollo himself. She has indeed come in haste from Apollo (1556) and in her speech she confirms Ion's divine parentage from Apollo, stressing Apollo's overall providence, and also foretells that Ion will be the founder of the Ionian race. The play gives a prominent position to the Ionian race by combining autochthony (via Creusa) and divine descent (Apollo), especially when this lineage is compared to the races which will be descended from Creusa and a mortal father (Xuthus). Athens is thus presented as the mother city of her Ionian allies while her claims to hegemony over other states is here founded on a divine prediction.²⁸ Athena is thus strongly presented in her role as the patron goddess of Athens, the city to which she is closely linked and the welfare and glory of which she promises to secure.

Athena's role as the patron-goddess of Athens is also crucial in the fragmentary *Erechtheus*,²⁹ a tragedy with strong patriotic tones. In fr. 351 we read about an invitation, probably by Praxithea to the Chorus, to supplicate Athena to save the city; this recalls another such supplication, that of the Trojan women in *Iliad* 6, but this time, in the case of Athens, the supplication, which may already hint at Athena's own appearance in the end, will be successful. Also in fr. 360 (46-49) Praxithea expresses her confidence that the trident and the Thracians will not replace the sacred olive and the Gorgon, nor will the honours to Pallas cease, another hint at eventual Athenian success as well as at the role that Athena is to play as the protectress of her city. In addition, the Chorus, when they envisage a life in tranquillity after they hang the Thracian spoils upon Athena's temples (fr. 369), also seem to suggest an Athenian victory with Athena's help.

²⁸ On imperialism and Ionian propaganda in the play, see Loraux, *Children of Athena*, 199; Lee, *Euripides: Ion*, 34; B. Smarczyk, *Untersuchungen zur Religionspolitik und politischen Propaganda Athens im Delisch-Attischen Seebund* (Munich: Tuduv-Verlag, 1990), 615-618.

²⁹ On this play, see C. Collard et al. (eds.), *Euripides: Selected Fragmentary Plays*, vol. 1 (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1995), 148-194.

It is also worth noting in particular that Athena calls herself 'motherless' when she speaks to Praxithea (fr. 370.64), an apt expression, which suggests that the maternal side, in this case Praxithea's grief for the loss of her daughters, should be suppressed in order to let the patriotic theme be emphasized. We also see Athena in her familiar role as the representative of Zeus' will (99-100), this time in announcing the establishment by Eumolpus of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

I have left for the end of this sub-section what may be considered as the most influential portrayal of Athena in her role as the deity of Athens and its institutions, that is Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. In this tragedy Athena's role is bipartite in the sense that it consists firstly of her contribution to the events leading to Orestes' acquittal, and secondly in her crucial task of integrating the Furies as beneficent forces for the Athenians. The Delphic opening of the play foretells the change of the scene to Athens when Apollo says that Orestes' case will be decided in this city (79-83), and that Pallas Athena will supervise the decision about rights in Orestes' case (224). Orestes' appeals to Athena for help on the Acropolis, most probably in the temple of Athena Polias where the statue of the goddess was kept (242; cf. 80), contain two particularly interesting details about the nature and function of Athena before she herself appears. She is 'queen Athena' (235), a not unusual expression for a divinity (cf. Eur. *IT* 1475), but also 'queen of the land' (288), which further implies that Athena, apart from being the patron goddess of Athens, is also the chief political authority in it.³⁰ This prepares for the civic and political role that Athena plays in this tragedy. In this respect, it is significant that she calls the Athenians 'my citizens' (487), a politically charged word, while she uses this expression again in her speech which establishes the court of the Areopagus (707-708; cf. 691, 693, 697) and prescribes how citizenship can be informed by justice.

Another feature of Orestes' appeal is his description of the goddess in masculine terms ('like a man', 296). Though a passing reference, structured as a simile, it may hint at the 'masculinity' of the goddess and its role in the acquittal of Orestes. It is this role which is also foreshadowed in Apollo's use, in support of his belief in the

³⁰ A.H. Sommerstein (ed.), *Aeschylus: Eumenides* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), on 288.

supremacy of the male, of Athena's own motherlessness as an example to prove his point (662-666). In the trial she gives not having been borne by a woman as the reason for her own voting in favour of Orestes.³¹ Thus Athena, who is herself almost sexually 'undefinable',³² both female and masculine, here gives her support to the male. On the other hand, the expression *κάρτα δ' εἰμὶ τοῦ πατρός* "I am strongly my father's child" (738), apart from stressing, in this context, the notion of her birth from Zeus' head, cannot be dissociated from the meaning of Athena being 'on the side of Zeus', which would further imply that Athena carries out Zeus' wish.³³

Zeus is in fact evoked by Athena at several points when she engages in the difficult task of averting the Furies' anger from inflicting evils upon Athens. She tells the Furies firstly that it was in fact the will of Zeus that Orestes should be acquitted (797-799). When the Furies persist in their anger, Athena introduces a veiled threat to them, in which Zeus again has a part, but she withdraws it immediately: instead of Zeus' thunderbolt, which is at hand for her, she will employ persuasion (826-829). Athena succeeds indeed via her persuasion; but this skill of hers in rhetoric is again associated with Zeus; Zeus has given her 'good sense' (850) and when this sense is put into words and persuades the Furies, Athena rejoices and refers (973) to Zeus *Ἀγοραῖος*, 'of the assemblies', an epithet which was in fact shared by both Zeus and Athena and which was associated with legal institutions and the power of persuasion.³⁴ The role of Zeus is also implied in the Chorus' saying that, via Athena, the Athenians have the favour of Zeus (1001-1002). The role of Zeus in the persuasion of the Furies is also acknowledged by the escorts in the procession which closes the play (1045).

³¹ For Athena's voting, see more recently R. Seaford, "Historicizing Tragic Ambivalence: The Vote of Athena", in *History, Tragedy, Theory: Dialogues on Greek Drama*, ed. B. Goff (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 202-221.

³² See S. Goldhill, *Language, Sexuality, Narrative: the Oresteia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 258-259; id., *Reading Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 31. On the sexual liminality of Athena in relation to the ambiguity of the eventual reconciliation in the play, see Goldhill, *Language*, 280; on Athena's subversion of civilized/male values, see S.J. Deacy's discussion of the *Eumenides* in *The Formation of Athena in Greek Myth* (PhD University of Wales, 2000).

³³ On the possible meanings of the phrase, see Sommerstein, *Eumenides*, on 738.

³⁴ See L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), 304.

Finally, what is emphatically presented in Athena's effort to persuade the Furies, is her deep concern with the welfare of her people, which has been constantly at stake ever since the Furies threatened that in case of defeat they would oppress the city of Athens (719-720), a threat which becomes all the more pressing after Orestes' acquittal. The repeated blessings that the Eumenides give to Athens counterbalance and 'exorcise' their previous threatened curses; Athena guarantees for her city blessings of all kinds for the present and the future.

c) *Crossing categories*

In this sub-section I shall discuss Sophocles' *Ajax* and Euripides' *Heracles*, which share characteristics of both the categories outlined above. In other words, their treatment of Athena draws from epic tradition but also alludes to the association of the goddess with Athens.

The presentation of Athena in Sophocles' *Ajax*,³⁵ a tragedy with various Homeric elements in general, may also be said to reflect a strong 'Homeric' presence. Athena's dialogue with Odysseus, which opens the play, recalls the traditional relationship between the goddess and her protégé, while her prompt intervention, which prevented, as she explains, the murders of the Argive leaders (45), is reminiscent of the Homeric Athena's interventions where she prevents violent exaction of revenge (*Il.* 1.194ff.; 15.121ff.). But her traditional role is subverted by Sophocles; although in both Homeric episodes Athena's intervention averts disaster by imposing reason, in the *Ajax* her intervention averts disaster by imposing madness.

The disturbing aspect of her attitude in *Ajax* is not so much the imposition of madness; madness, after all, whatever its cause, was a traditional part of Ajax's myth. It is rather the continuation of Athena's deception of Ajax, in a way which reduces him to a mere plaything and exposes his delusion in front of Odysseus, which seems more disturbing.

The motivation behind Athena's attitude towards Ajax remains obscure, and this is also the case with the question of her involve-

³⁵ On her epiphany, see especially P. Pucci, "Gods' Intervention and Epiphany in Sophocles", *AJPhil* 115 (1994), 15-31.

ment in the development of events after Ajax's recovery of his sanity. As for her association with the specific development which leads to Ajax's suicide, it is Athena's enigmatic 'one-day' wrath and the fact that there is hope for Ajax if he remains safe for the day that seem rather to shift the emphasis from Athena to Ajax himself; it is the one-day duration of the divine wrath that seems to repeat the recurrent principle of alternation, which turns out to be the only 'stable' principle in the play.

As to the question of Ajax's burial, an important issue when we consider Ajax as a cult-hero,³⁶ critics of the play have emphasized the importance of Odysseus for Ajax's burial, but have detached Athena from it. However, it has also been suggested that the references to Salamis and the evocation of an Attic context with regard to Ajax's burial make it "hard to detach Athena altogether from what is happening".³⁷ Furthermore, it is difficult to detach Athena from whatever Odysseus brings about; Odysseus may have momentarily been uneasy with Athena's attitude to Ajax, but his reaction at that moment is not enough to annul Athena's traditional involvement in his action; it was Odysseus in this play after all who remarked that both in past and in future he is guided by Athena's hand (34-35). However, we should note that in this play divine and human ends remain enigmatic; the question of divine involvement or motivation seems to remain beyond human apprehension.

If in Sophocles' *Ajax* Athena inflicts madness on the hero, in Euripides' *Heracles*, on the contrary, she puts an end to madness. Athena's epiphany in Euripides' *Heracles* is rather peculiar in the sense that it is both short in duration and mute, while the staging problems suggest that it was not visible to the audience. Euripides' *Heracles* is dominated by divine presences as well as divine absences. The absence of Zeus is constantly emphasized from the beginning of the play; on the other hand, Hera is also absent, but, although she does not appear on stage herself, she is 'present' via Iris and Lyssa, who act on her behalf. The epiphany of Iris and Lyssa, however, is not the only divine appearance which breaks in suddenly on human affairs. At 905 the Chorus note that a whirlwind is shaking

³⁶ See A. Henrichs, "The Tomb of Aias and the Prospect of Hero Cult in Sophocles", *Cl. Ant.* 12 (1993), 165-180.

³⁷ P.E. Easterling, "Gods on Stage in Greek Tragedy", in *Religio Graeco-Romana, Festschrift für Walter Pötscher. Grazer Beiträge Suppl. 5*, ed. J. Dalfen et al. (Graz: F. Berger, 1993), 81.

the palace and that the roof is collapsing. What the Chorus say at this point follows what Lyssa had said in her speech would happen after Heracles' murder of his children (864-865). However, Amphitryon's words at 906 come as a surprise and introduce a different perspective when he notes Athena's presence and states that the goddess brings ruin. But later (1001-1006) the Messenger relates that, in fact, Athena's intervention prevented Heracles from committing patricide.

Athena's sudden intervention which prevents patricide can be justified both by her association with patriarchal values and by her relationship with Heracles, which is evident both in literary tradition and in art.³⁸ There are two central aspects of the relationship between Athena and Heracles, firstly the presence of Athena in many episodes in Heracles' life and especially in his labours, and secondly her role in Heracles' apotheosis.

Athena's traditional patronage of Heracles was carried out under Zeus' will,³⁹ a fact which seems to hint at the possibility of an interpretation of her dramatic intervention also as a sign of Zeus' indirect 'presence'. In this regard, Athena, as Zeus' intermediary, has a parallel role to that of both Iris and Lyssa, the intermediaries of Hera. Since her intervention modifies the action, Athena also has a directorial role; she does not set the action beforehand, of course, but she still influences its development in a way which gives her the role of both director and actor. Whether hers alone or Zeus', there seems to be a directorial authority and voice behind her silent presence. However, her epiphany is never mentioned thereafter, as if her appearance did not make any change at all, while her silence leaves her motivation obscure.

It should be noted that Lyssa had foretold that the collapse of the palace would follow Heracles' murder of his children (864-865) but had said nothing about the murder of Megara or the attempted murder of Amphitryon, which are only reported by the Messenger. The implication is that Heracles' rage goes even beyond Lyssa's plan to the extent that it causes Athena's sudden interference. Both

³⁸ On this relationship, see, e.g., J. Boardman, in *LIMC* 5 (1990), 143-154 s.v. Herakles. Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 1031, where Heracles in agony calls on Pallas, his divine protector.

³⁹ Cf. Hom. *Il.* 8.362-369, where Athena complains to Hera that Zeus does not remember how many times she has saved his son Heracles during his labours. Athena is thus presented as Zeus' intermediary in the role of Heracles' protectress.

Athena's sudden intervention and the stone that she uses (1002-1006) suggest the urgency of the situation and the difficulty of Athena's task, which is further stressed by the comparison of her action (in the words of Amphitryon) to that against Enceladus (908).⁴⁰

With the coming of Theseus and his support for Heracles the action moves towards an Athenian context. As Mikalson puts it, Euripides "is dramatizing an aetiology of how Heracles came to be in Athens and why he is worshipped in the places he is".⁴¹ If Athena stopped Heracles from committing patricide, Theseus prevents him from committing suicide. Thus, Athena's intervention could be viewed as a foreshadowing of the future role that Athens will play,⁴² an idea which seems to be enhanced as soon as Theseus appears on stage. In this respect it is important to observe that Theseus' promises to Heracles in the play are immediately preceded by his invitation to Heracles to follow him to Athens. The phrase that Theseus uses for Athens is 'the city of Pallas Athena' (1323). Bond⁴³ comments *ad loc.*: "Tragedy is rich in synonyms for Athens"; his remark is correct but perhaps he fails to note the significance that the choice of this particular synonym may have. It is the city of Pallas Athena, the goddess whose narrated epiphany in the play contributed to the development of the dramatic plot. In this respect, it is hard to detach Athena from the sequence of the dramatic events.

4. Conclusion

This survey of Athena's function in Greek tragedy has outlined various aspects of this goddess and their dramatic use. We have seen Athena's close relationship with Zeus, her transgression of the gender-division and her association with patriarchal values. Although her patronage of particular heroes is important, it is her association with the public sphere and her role as a civic goddess that

⁴⁰ There is another instance where Athena hurls a stone: in Hom. *Il.* 21.403-408 she throws a stone against Ares, who, it should be noted, is often associated with the fury of the battle; but in *Il.* 15 it is his anger and wish for revenge which are described as madness (esp. 128, 138).

⁴¹ J.D. Mikalson, *Honor Thy Gods: Popular Religion in Greek Tragedy* (Chapel Hill/London: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 223.

⁴² Cf. J. Gregory, *Euripides and the Instruction of the Athenians* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 139-140.

⁴³ G.W. Bond (ed.), *Euripides: Heracles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

are given strongest emphasis, and this is the context in which issues such as maternity and autochthony are explored.

We have also seen how shifting Athena can be; she is often portrayed as the upholder of order and propriety and as the representative of a wider divine framework, but she may also be ascribed almost self-contradictory aspects, as we saw for example in Euripides' *Troades*, which provides us with Athena's concern for justice and piety on the one hand and with Athena's capriciousness on the other. It may be said that her often enigmatic motivation and function, which we also discussed especially in the case of Sophocles' *Ajax* or of Euripides' *Heracles*, is in fact in accord with the often 'elusive' divine presence in Greek tragedy. Divinity, after all, remains largely an incomprehensible and unpredictable force, which the humans try to 'harness' and to win its favour for their own purposes.

Finally, we have also seen that Athena's associations are re-defined and seem to take on another dimension when they are informed by the Athenian contemporary reality. Athena thus is largely presented as the Athenian deity *par excellence*, the representative and patron of Athenian concerns on stage.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ It was a pleasure to participate in the Athena-conference, held at Oxford in April 1998. Many thanks are due to Susan Deacy and Alexandra Villing for organizing such an inspiring and successful event. I am also grateful to them as well as to Professor P.E. Easterling for their helpful comments during the writing-up of this chapter.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

HEADACHES AND GNAWED ΠΕΠΛΟΣ: LAUGHING WITH ATHENA

Silvia Milanezi

Ἄργαλέον σε, θεά, γνῶμαι βροτῶν ἀντιάσαντι
καὶ μάλ' ἐπισταμένῳ· σὲ γὰρ αὐτὴν παντὶ εἴσκεις.

Goddess, it is hard for a man to recognize you at sight, however expert he may be, for you are always changing your disguise. (Hom. *Od.* 13.312-313)

Better than anyone, Odysseus – or the poet of the *Odyssey* – describes the complexity of Athena. The difficulty in perceiving the goddess that Odysseus experienced is shared by all scholars who deal with her different epithets, functions, and shapes as they appear in Greek texts, art, and religion. In fact, she personifies many ambiguities. Despite these ambiguities, Athena surely struck fear and awe in the heart of mortals. Nothing in her brilliant personality could make her the object of laughter.

Yet from epic to Hellenistic poetry Athena is associated with laughter: she laughs and makes others laugh. Dealing with μῆμησις and its reception, I will study Athena's relationship with the χάρις of laughter, stressing how Greek poets placed her in contexts that would evoke laughter in order to emphasize her different roles. I will then examine some texts in which Athena is afraid to be laughed at or in which she is transformed into a comic character. Finally, I will concentrate on *Batrachomyomachia* 177-196. In this anonymous, undated piece of mock-epic, Athena does not laugh, but she is frankly funny, if not ridiculous. I will try to understand this deconstruction of a pious and severe image of Athena, pointing out how the poet resolves the contradictions of her different roles (as warrior, as saviour, as healer, as patroness of arts and crafts) and revealing the meaning of this new Athena. Beyond parody, which is the main characteristic of this παίγνιον, we can perhaps gain a

glimpse of the meaning of Athena at a time when Greece was expanding throughout the known world.

Athena laughs and incites laughter

With her wrath and her brazen sight, Athena is not a laughing goddess. But Greek gods are not totally foreign to the χάρις of smile and laughter. And even if Athena does not rival golden Aphrodite, the φιλομειδής par excellence,¹ she can smile and laugh in epic poetry, where her laughter is linked to the battlefield, to war, and to the duel when strength and cunning go hand in hand.

In fact, in the *Iliad*, Athena presents herself as an expert in mockery and derision. When Aphrodite deserts the battlefield, injured by Diomedes' spear, and goes to her mother Dione for pity, Athena's skilfully manipulated derision, κερτομίους ἐπέεσσι (5.419),² sends her back to her ἔργα (*Il.* 5.421-425). In fact, there is a laughter, a mischievous laughter, in Athena's insults that aims to annihilate Aphrodite's warrior role and transform her war injury into a more domestic one, a scratch of a golden pin, περόνη (425), by an Achaean woman. In the background of Athena's words there is a reminder of the cause of the Trojan War:³ the abduction of Helen, presented here as the result of Cypris' persuasion, or better still, as an Aphroditean fancy. Like Diomedes, Helen by her beauty touches the goddess: she is clearly on the hook of love. Athena's words stress that Aphrodite, her job already done, must give way to those who are supposed to clean up the 'mess' she has made. It is interesting to note that Homer seems to evoke the goddesses' contest or the judgement of Paris. In fact, readers find here the divine protagonists of this known episode: Aphrodite, Athena, and Hera. Zeus replaces Paris and passes his judgement. He encourages Aphrodite to continue to occupy herself with the desirable works of marriage, leaving the battlefield to Ares and Athena, and confers the victory on Athena. Athena obtains this victory by means of her cunning intelligence, wielding an Aphroditean weapon: deceit. Zeus' smile (5.426) seems to close this episode like a wreath that re-

¹ Hes. *Theog.* 205-206. On Aphrodite φιλομειδής, see D.D. Boedeker, *Aphrodite's Entry into Greek Epic. Mnemosyne Suppl.* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), esp. 31ff.

² See also *Il.* 21.416ff.

³ As presented in *Cypria* 1 (= Procl. *Chrestomathy* 1).

wards the champion. So, in this struggle between persuasion, seduction, and μῆτις, Athena is victorious.

And victory means laughter.⁴ “Is there a sweeter experience than laughing at one’s enemy?” Athena asks her protégé Odysseus.⁵ This line from the Sophoclean *Ajax* can be taken not only as a *gnome* but also as an echo of Athena’s fight with Ares in the Iliadic *Theomachia* (21.390-434). In fact, when Zeus gives permission for the gods to choose their favourites, Ares challenges Athena to a single combat provoking her by such harsh words as κυνάμυια, ‘dog flea’ (21.394). This epithet can be linked to the warrior’s thirst for blood and, as scholars point out, it would be more appropriate to Ares himself.⁶ Athena’s relationship with war is more rational: she hates the useless slaughter or the ὕβρις on the battlefield. But it is more interesting to take this epithet as a *reductio ad minimum* of Athena’s skills, or worse, to associate her warlike attitude with the lust of an impudent woman.⁷ Here, Ares clearly alludes to Athena’s love for Achaean warriors, and particularly for Diomedes, who injured him in the past.⁸ His goal is to dismiss Athena from the battlefield, as she had done to him in book 5, addressing him as μαιφόνος, ‘blood-thirsty’.⁹ But Athena quickly silences Ares’ insults: she knocks him out, hitting him with a stone, and finishes him off with her laughter and her insults (21.408). He who dares to call her a dog flea (421) is reduced to dust. She shows him that in war no man or god can match her *savoir faire*.

⁴ Zeus’ smile being a reflection of Athena’s derisive, laughing words. On the laughter of gods, see C. Kerényi, “The Laughter of the Gods”, in *The Religion of the Greeks and Romans* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962), 192-200.

⁵ Soph. *Aj.* 79. On laughter at one’s enemy, see D. Arnould, *Le rire et les larmes dans la littérature grecque d’Homère à Platon* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1990), 30-42.

⁶ On this line, see N. Richardson, *The Iliad: A Commentary*. Vol. VI: Books 21-24 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

⁷ Iris addresses Athena in 8.423 as κύον ἄδδεός. In epic poems the epithets coined on κύον are always insulting: they emphasize a kind of indecency. Hera is said to be κυνώπις (*Il.* 3.180; 18.396), as are Aphrodite (*Od.* 4.145) and Clytemnestra (*Eur. Or.* 260, *El.* 1252). This epithet is also employed in order to debase men, such as Agamemnon (*Il.* 1.159). Κυνάμυια is used for a courtesan in *Ath.* 4.157a and for Cynics in *Ath.* 3.126a.

⁸ *Il.* 5.837-863.

⁹ See 5.31. Ares’ formal epithets – μαιφόνος, βροτολογός, τευχισιπλήτης – disclose his inner violent nature (cf. also 455). On the Battle of the Gods and on the their mutual insults, see G.S. Meltzer, “The Role of Comic Perspectives in Shaping Homer’s Tragic Vision”, *Classical World* 83.4 (1990), 265-280, esp. 279.

Her laughter stresses a double victory, as a warrior and as a great mind.¹⁰ Ares is not able to prove his sayings on the battlefield: Athena's deeds and words transform him into a ridiculous entity, a lame reflection of himself. Besides, he needs the help of a woman. Aphrodite appears on the battlefield in order to comfort him. Warned by Hera, Athena stuns Aphrodite with a blow of her powerful hand (21.424): Ares and Aphrodite are quickly lying on the ground, enduring the defeat inflicted by Athena whose victory is emphasized by the smile of Hera (434). As if the poet could only now complete the episode opened in book 5, Ares and Aphrodite are sent back to mind their own business, which is clearly to be concluded in another kind of war, in Aphrodite's bed. In this sense, Hera mirrors the laughter and the action of Athena, throwing at the lovers-to-be not a stone, but κερτομίους ἐπέεσσι: Ares is inflicted with the epithet βροτολοιγός, 'fatal', and Aphrodite with κυνάμυια, 'dog flea', both stressing the lust for blood and the lust for love.

These passages show Athena as a terrifying deity, ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ, 'unbending of heart', as the *Homeric Hymn* puts it.¹¹ On the battlefield she does not show any mercy. She personifies all values of Archaic society: strength of hands and strength of mind in the permanent ἀγών for ἀρετή, excellence. Neither man nor god can stand competition with Athena: those who try their luck are destroyed. On the battlefield or in warrior-contexts, Athena's laughter stands in for her weapons, laughter being as πικρός or ὀξύς as her javelin. If her brazen cry as well as her brazen gaze arouses μένος in her favourites' hearts, her laughter echoes an eternal ψόγος, 'blame', against her enemies.¹²

But Athena can also smile tenderly, as is clear in the *Odyssey*¹³ where she addresses Odysseus in a tone of mock-reproach. Odysseus, after many wanderings, arrives home and, unable to recognize Ithaca, tries to fool her – or the shepherd she is imperson-

¹⁰ In fact, she addresses him as νηπύτιος (21.410), echoed in Athena's and Zeus' insults (5.831) μαινόμενον, τυκτὸν κακόν, ἀλλοπρόσαλλον, and (5.889) ἀλλοπρόσαλλε. See also *Il.* 5.757ff. and Aesch., *Sept.* 264. For a moral interpretation of Athena's victory, see K. Reinhardt, *Die Ilias und ihr Dichter* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961), 128.

¹¹ *Homeric Hymn to Athena* 28.2.

¹² On this topic, see G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans. Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 222-242.

¹³ 13.287.

ating – by telling false tales. If scholars find in her smile the tenderness of a mother towards her child,¹⁴ or “the patronizing laugh of an adult towards a naughty child”,¹⁵ we also clearly find a context of cunning intelligence¹⁶ that stresses the superiority of Athena’s mind and, somehow, her γέρας, “famed on Olympus by her wisdom and wiles”.¹⁷ In fact, Athena changes shape after Odysseus’ words, transforming herself into a beautiful and great lady expert in handiwork (*Od.* 13.288-289). Odysseus’ cunning intelligence, a mortal reflection of her own, is presented as a ποικίλον work, a term that characterizes the πέπλος woven by Athena in the *Iliad* (5.734-735). Some scholars think that Homer presents her as Ergane. Others, such as Piero Pucci,¹⁸ prefer to preserve the blurred atmosphere created by the poet, stating that here we have an unreadable Athena or an unreadable μῆτις. If we cannot figure out the meaning of this epiphany, the Homeric text becomes as clear as the statement of Athena: νῦν αὖ δεῦρ’ ἰκόμην, ἵνα τοι σὺν μῆτιν ὑφώνω, “and now am I come hither to weave a plan with you” (*Od.* 13.303). She is the weaver of the μῆτις.

However, Athena’s smile stresses her φιλία towards Odysseus, a *philia* that is linked to his μῆτις. Furthermore, it indicates that Athena will support Odysseus until his total victory over the suitors of Penelope who pester his house. She is the invisible strength that prepares Odysseus’ return, and this strength is the laughter that she arouses in Odysseus’ house, a substitute for the μένος breathed on warriors announcing her favourite’s victory, a reflection of her own power.¹⁹ Antinous perceives in the contest between the disguised Odysseus and Irus, the established beggar of Odysseus’ household, that a god wants to entertain them,²⁰ although he cannot be sure which god is at work. It is Athena, and she wants to allow Odysseus

¹⁴ Arnould, *Le rire*, 86-87.

¹⁵ See W.B. Stanford, *The Odyssey of Homer*. Vol. I: Books I-XII (London: Macmillan, 1947), 244-245, on *Od.* 2.301.

¹⁶ L.H. Pratt, *Lying and Poetry from Homer to Pindar. Falsehood and Deception in Archaic Greek Poetics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), esp. 70-73. See also P. Pucci, *Odysseus Polutropos. Intertextual Readings in the Odyssey and the Iliad* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987), esp. 98-109.

¹⁷ *Od.* 13.296ff.

¹⁸ Pucci, *Odysseus Polutropos*, 107-109.

¹⁹ *Od.* 18.34-35, 40.

²⁰ *Od.* 18.36-37. On the ambiguities of laughter in ancient Greece and particularly on this fatal laugh, see D. Lateiner, “No laughing matter. A Literary Tactic in Herodotus”, *TAPA* 107 (1977), 173-182, esp. 174.

to give a display of his skills, of his strength, in order to have suitors accept him as the new household beggar.²¹ His victory – stressed by the expression, γέλῳ ἔκθανον “they died with laughter”²² – that goes with his social acceptance, will give Odysseus the time he needs to study Penelope’s feelings, Penelope’s suitors, the attitude of his servants, and their fidelity to their missing master. And above all, Odysseus will prepare his vengeance, the death of his enemies that now is floating on their own laughing lips.

Athena is also the one who arouses Penelope’s spirits, encouraging her to appear to her suitors: “Then the goddess, flashing-eyed Athena, puts in the heart of the daughter of Icarius, wise Penelope, to show herself to the wooers, that she might set their hearts a-flutter and win greater honour from her husband and her son heretofore. Then she laughs, a meaningless laugh”.²³ Scholars are confused regarding the meaning of this ‘meaningless’ or ‘useless’ laugh of Penelope²⁴ that cannot be understood as a fool’s laugh²⁵ (ἀχρεῖον δ’ ἐγέλασσε is clearly an expression of the goddess’s μῆτις transferred to her). This sonorous, joyful laughter, that is, at the same time, a feigned one, liberates Penelope from her distressed attitude during Odysseus’ absence and seems to give her new energy to fight her detested suitors. Through this ambiguous laugh Penelope turns into a shroud, a trap, which stands for the shroud she had woven over the years.²⁶ In a word, Athena prepares Penelope’s victorious ἀριστεία, which, in the household world, presupposes a μῆτις struggle.

At last, Athena breathes in the suitors’ hearts a sort of animal laughter, a magic laughter that makes them go out of their minds.²⁷

²¹ J. Russo, M. Fernandez-Galiano, and A. Heubeck, *A Commentary on Homer’s Odyssey*, vol. III: Books XVII–XXIV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), esp. 53 and commentaries on 100ff.

²² 18.100.

²³ *Od.* 18.158–163.

²⁴ See D.B. Levine, “Penelope’s Laugh: *Odyssey* 18.163”, *AJPPhil* 104 (1983), 172–180; J.S. Clay, “Homeric ἀχρεῖον”, *AJPPhil* 105 (1984), 73–76, and Russo, Fernandez-Galiano, and Heubeck, *Commentary III*, 59.

²⁵ Such as Thersites in *Il.* 2.269. Compare also Telemachus’ posing, deceptive laugh in *Od.* 21.105. Cf. S.E. Hoffer, “Telemachus’ ‘laugh’ (*Odyssey* 21.105): Deceit, Authority, and Communication in the Bow Contest”, *AJPPhil* 116 (1995), 515ff.

²⁶ Athena is also responsible for the veil Penelope was weaving in order to deceive her suitors (2.116). See I. Papadopoulou-Belmehdi, *Le chant de Pénélope* (Paris: Belin, 1994), 27–48.

²⁷ *Od.* 20.346–347.

The wooers laugh without knowing they are laughing, and if they perceive their actions or passions, they cannot explain them. But Telemachus and Odysseus know that Athena is with them, and that this laughter, understood as an omen, emphasizes the impending destruction of their enemies.

In this context, laughter underlines Athena's role in bringing to light the cunning intelligence of her plans, the μῆτις of her action. Laughter is attached to victory, the laughter of the victor over his enemies, the sweetest reward a man can receive in a competitive society. So, in these epic texts, Athena's relationship with laughter does not transform her into a ridiculous character.

Athena: a laughing spectacle?

Nevertheless, while studying *Il.* 8.350-460, A. Zervou²⁸ demonstrates that Homer transforms Athena into a comic character or into a caricature. Athena, the beloved daughter, rebels against her father, criticising his decision to prevent gods from helping mortals on the battlefield. She acts as an adolescent, jealous of her father's love of, and his intimacy with Thetis, and persuades Hera to intervene in favour of the Achaeans. Finally she arms herself, ready for a new ἀριστεία. But Zeus wrecks her plans. For A. Zervou, all Athena's childish attitudes²⁹ and her practically useless arming of herself give this text a heroic-comic taste.³⁰ To counter this interpretation, Athena's passionate attitudes can be explained as signs of love and caring for the Achaeans, and Zeus' dismissal of her from the battlefield as a confirmation of the Achaeans' (her favourites) misery until the return of Achilles to the battlefield. So this could be understood as a *peripeteia* preceding the catastrophe to follow. But I can also develop A. Zervou's hypothesis, confirming the risible atmosphere that the poet creates in these lines. As this book deals with elements borrowed or expanded from books 1 and 5,³¹ the family conflict portrayed in 8 is humorous mostly because Athena plays

²⁸ "La transformation d'Athéna en figure comique", in *Ironie et Parodie. Le comique chez Homère* (Athens: Bibliopoleia tes Estias, 1988), 17-29.

²⁹ This hypothesis is supported by Eustathius' criticism. See also scholia on these verses and Zenodotus' and Aristophanes of Byzantium's criticism.

³⁰ Zervou, "Transformation", 29.

³¹ On this question, see G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary*. Vol. II: Books 5-8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 327.

Hera's role in this kind of scene: she goes from ally to Hera's alter-ego – jealous, scheming, fatuous. It is not surprising that she becomes Zeus' target instead of Hera. But as with Hera's wrath, Athena's can not match the wrath of Zeus or his will. Athena and Hera withdraw from this contest. But Zeus is not pleased with what he understands as a solitary victory: he wants publicity. Among the gods gathered for the assembly he debases Athena and Hera, ridiculing them with his words and threats, and this time Hephaestus does not cheer the gods' hearts. There is no place for a liberating laugh. Even if Athena's power is shelved, she is always the powerful divinity and the poet's laughter stresses the familiarity Greeks felt towards their gods and particularly toward Athena, the 'goddess of nearness'.³²

Apart from epics, Greek texts from the Archaic period do not exploit Athena's potential to create laughter. Nevertheless, in the fifth century, Athena seems, in both tragedy and lyric poetry, to fear the ridicule that is linked to deformation, ἄμορφία.³³ She creates the αὐλός, flute,³⁴ but seeing her distorted face in the mirror of the waters when playing it, she puts it down:

Athena hurled the instruments from her sacred hand and said 'To perdition with you, shameful things, an outrage to my body. I yield me not to such baseness'.³⁵

As N. Loraux points out, in this episode Athena discovers her body,³⁶ or the poets give her a corporeality that was only suggested in epic texts. They give her a desirable, female body. It is not surprising that she also discovers a yearning for beauty that shocks Telestes of Selinus: "For why should a keen yearning for lovely beauty distress her, to whom Clotho has assigned a marriageless and a childless virginity?".³⁷ And this lovely body arouses desire, and

³² Zervou, "Transformation", 29. On Greek laughter at gods, see A. Lesky, "Griechen lachen über ihre Götter", *Wiener humanistische Blätter* 4 (1961), 30-40.

³³ On ἄμορφία, see D. Ogden, *The Crooked Kings of Ancient Greece* (London: Duckworth, 1997).

³⁴ Pind. *Pyth.* 12.7-27. See also P. Chuvin, "Un éloge paradoxal de l'*aulos* dans la Douzième Pythique à Midas d'Agrigente, Aulète, 490 av. J.-C.", in *Poésie et Lyrique antiques*, ed. L. Dubois (Lille: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1995), 119-127.

³⁵ Melanippides, *Marsyas* (dithyramb), fr. 2 Page (no. 758) *apud* Ath., 14.616e-f; see also fr. 381 Nauck 2 (*adespota*).

³⁶ "Ce que vit Tirésias", *L'Ecrit du temps* 2 (1982), 99-116, esp. 106-107.

³⁷ Dithyramb *Argo*, fr. 1a Page (no. 805) *apud* Ath. 616f-617a.

incites rape.³⁸ These fragments of dithyrambs show clearly that Athena's corporeality was somehow a problem for Greeks.³⁹

This tale sung at Greek festivals (mostly Athenian) stressed Athena's role as Ergane. But told as a joke,⁴⁰ it stressed the fear of being or looking ridiculous. It is not surprising that philosophers took great pains to explain Athena's attitude. Aristotle⁴¹ does not discard the possibility that Athena could be afraid of her facial ugliness, but he prefers a philosophical explanation: she puts down the αὐλός she has created because the intellect cannot grow richer through the practice of this instrument.⁴² Alcibiades, or Plutarch's⁴³ Alcibiades, seems to reconcile the two Aristotelian interpretations: he refused to learn and to play the flute, "which he regarded as an ignoble accomplishment and quite unsuitable for a free citizen". But he also discarded it because "once a man starts blowing into a flute, his own friends can scarcely recognize his features".

Athena refuses, as J.-P. Vernant puts it, to see her face transformed into a mask of Gorgo⁴⁴ or, as I believe, into a comic mask, into a comic body. Athena refuses to be laughed at because laughter annihilates power.

However, even if Athena refuses to be laughed at, comic poets probably presented her as a funny character in their plays. In fact, ancient comedy loves to play with gods and heroes, and its taste for religious and mythological matter is expressed primarily by parody. But ancient comedy deals mostly with politics, and comic poets insert current events into the grammar or syntax of the traditional tales, in a process we call comic-myth-making.⁴⁵ Although the comic

³⁸ On Hephaestus' passion for Athena and his sexual assault, see S.J. Deacy, "The Vulnerability of Athena. Parthenoi and Rape in Greek Myth", in *Rape in Antiquity. Sexual Violence in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, ed. ead. and K.F. Pierce (London: Duckworth/Classical Press of Wales, 1997), 43-63.

³⁹ On an 'erotic' Athena, see L. Llewellyn-Jones, this volume, esp. pp. 246ff., and I. Altripp, this volume, esp. p. 184.

⁴⁰ Plut. *de cohibenda ira* 456B.

⁴¹ Arist. *Pol.* 8.6, 13-14 [1341a-b]. For another commentary on this topic, see A. Serghidou, this volume, esp. pp. 59ff.

⁴² An interpretation that is well adapted to the global Aristotelian view of *demiourgoi* or *banausoi*. See *Pol.* 3.5 [1277b-1278a-b]. See also 1.11.4 [1258b]; 4.4.9 [1291a]; 7.4.3 [1325b-1326a].

⁴³ *Alc.* 2.6.

⁴⁴ J.-P. Vernant, "L'autre de l'homme: la face de Gorgô", in *Pour Léon Poliakov. Le racisme, mythes et sciences*, ed. M. Olender (Brussels: Complexe, 1981), 148.

⁴⁵ C. Moulton, "Comic Myth-Making and Aristophanes' Originality", in *Oxford Readings in Aristophanes*, ed. E. Segal (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press,

poets do not ridicule Athena, they use her in order to celebrate Athenians (as in Aristophanes' *Seasons*)⁴⁶ or, more precisely, to touch or to criticize them. Their targets are mostly Pericles and his passion for Aspasia (as in Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros*),⁴⁷ his imperial policy, and especially the reconstruction of the Acropolis and the offerings of Phidias' statues, the Promachos and the Parthenos (as in Hermippus' *Birth of Athena*).⁴⁸ Moreover, it is always Athenians who are actually ridiculed, even when Aristophanes seems to mock Athena⁴⁹ as in the *Birds*: "And how, pray, can a city still be regarded as well-ordered (εὐτακτος πόλις), where a god (θεός) who's a woman stands with a suit of armour on, and Cleisthenes with a weaver's shuttle?"⁵⁰ This joke can be taken as a derision underlining the nature of the city-goddess that reconciles the contradictions of gender – although female, she is called θεός (instead of θεά), and for this very reason she is dressed up in armour. But Aristophanes does not mean to attack Athena. This sophisticated and sophistic joke points out, as in *Lysistrata*, the disorder of Athens where some men, like Cleisthenes, are unable to assume their political roles; they are useless citizens. In addition to these jokes, comic poets or their characters (like Euelpides of 'Nephelokokygia' – Cloudcockoobury – in the *Birds*) can think of no city other than Athens, nor of any other god to protect it than the goddess Athena.⁵¹ This is clearer in *Lysistrata*, when Aristophanes gives Athena all her reverence, σεμνότης, stressing the political role that women as apprentice weavers perform in this comedy. Thanks to their μῆτις, they take after Athena; they can certainly weave but more so they become warriors. Although Athena is evoked in a New Comedy (Demetrius, *Areopagite*) as a strip-tease girl or as a woman obliged to undress, the poet points out the poverty of the Athenians by alluding to the conflict

1996), 216-228; S. Milanezi, "Athènes: mythe comique. Représentations d'Athènes et des Athéniens dans la comédie d'Aristophane", in *Philosophes et historiens anciens face aux mythes, Etudes des Lettres*, ed. D. Bouvier and C. Calame (Lausanne: Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Lausanne, 1998), 59-72.

⁴⁶ Fr. 581 K.-A. (*apud* Ath. 9.372b, cf. 14.653f) in which Athena sings the spring celebration of Athens. See also Epicharm., *Muses*, fr. 370 Kock I, in which she plays the *enophlios* on the pipes for the Dioscuri.

⁴⁷ *P Oxy.* 663.

⁴⁸ Hermippus, *Athenas Gonai*, fr. 2-6 K.-A.

⁴⁹ Loraux, "Tirésias", 105-106.

⁵⁰ See 823-831.

⁵¹ *Av.* 828.

between Charias and Lachares. In order to save the Athenians at a time of famine, Lachares steals the gold of the chryselephantine Athena in order to pay their mercenaries.⁵²

These texts prove that in the fifth and fourth centuries Athenians were, more than ever, intimate with this divinity who, in comedy, is honoured by all her religious epithets⁵³ and by the widely repeated oath νῇ τῇν Ἀθηνῶν. If comedy transforms Athena into a character, the poets have no intention of debasing the divinity as King Cotys did when pretending to marry her.⁵⁴

So, we must conclude that the comic arrows do not injure Athena's honour or σεμνότης, as these jokes were not considered as βλασφημία or as impiety.

A ridiculous Athena

The debasing of serious matters and of Greek divinities also took place in Hellenistic poetry. But impiety is not the rule in this kind of poetry, and particularly not in the *epyllia*. The *Batrachomyomachia*, a mock-epic in hexameter, is somehow an heiress of the Hellenistic taste for "the display of ironic approach to the Homeric world of heroes and gods."⁵⁵ This anonymous poem was attributed to Homer from antiquity. As the first parodies were produced in the sixth century BC, some scholars consider that it, too, was written at this time, and others think it is a product of the fifth century.⁵⁶ But the most recent editors of the poem, indebted to linguistic studies, have grounds to believe that it is a product of the first century BC. Nevertheless, we can take for granted that it was a very popular poem, and it is not impossible to imagine that it circulated in an oral form before its inclusion in a *iunctura* close to the first century. It is also difficult to establish the context in which this poem was created.

⁵² Ath. 9.405e-f = Demetrius II, *Areopagite*, fr. 1 K.-A. Cf. also *P Oxy.* XVII.2082.

⁵³ C.A. Anderson, *Athena's Epithets. Their Structural Significance in Plays of Aristophanes* (Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner, 1995).

⁵⁴ On this topic, see Theopomp., *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* I, 283, J. 2 B 542 and H. 32 *apud* Ath. 12.531e-532a.

⁵⁵ K.J. Gutzwiller, *Studies in the Hellenistic Epyllion*. Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 114 (Meisenheim am Glan: A. Hain, 1981), 6.

⁵⁶ On parody in poetry, see E. Degani (ed.), *Poesia parodica greca* (Bologna: Clueb, 1982).

Some scholars consider that there is an Attic flavour to it, but there is nothing to confirm this assertion.

As its title indicates, the *Batrachomyomachia*⁵⁷ is the tale of a war between frogs and mice, largely inspired by the epic poems dealing with the Trojan saga, and particularly with the last books of the *Iliad*.⁵⁸ But Homer's *σεμνότης* is quickly undermined, debased by the adaptation of the epic themes to everyday life and to the universe of fable.⁵⁹ The heir to the frogs' kingdom meets the prince of the mice and invites him to visit his aquatic palace, provoking the death of his guest. This abduction – which echoes Helen's – is the cause of the war that arises between frogs and mice, a war of reparation: the rules of friendship and hospitality having been broken by the frogs. Out of pity for the little animals who are destroying each other, Zeus convokes an Olympic assembly⁶⁰ and invites all divinities to take sides and help their favourites. But the gods keep silent. He tries to persuade Athena to interfere on the battlefield, counting on her warrior's energy, but she refuses to obey her father:

I would never go help the Mice when they are hard pressed, for they have done me much mischief, spoiling my garlands and my lamps too, to get the oil. And this thing that they have done vexes my heart exceedingly: they have eaten holes in my sacred robe, which I wove painfully spinning a fine woof on a fine warp, and made it full of holes. And now the mender is at me and charges me interest which is a bitter thing for immortals. For I borrowed to do my weaving, and have nothing to repay. Yet even so I will not help the Frogs; for they also are not considerate: once, when I was returning early from war, I was very tired, and though I wanted to sleep, they would not let me even doze a little for their outcry; and so I lay sleepless with a headache until cock-crow. No, gods, let us refrain from helping these hosts, or one of us may get wounded with a sharp spear; for they fight

⁵⁷ On this topic, see M. Fuzillo (ed.), *Omero, La Battaglia delle rane e dei topi. Batrachomyomachia* (Milan: Guerini, 1988), 39 and note 28; J. Tominsek, "Batrachomachia oder Batrachomyomachia", *Wiener Studien* 23 (1901), 6-13; R. Gleis, *Die Batrachomyomachie. Synoptische Edition und Kommentar* (Frankfurt a.M.: P. Lang, 1984), 23-33.

⁵⁸ Some scholars think that the starting point of this poem is *Il.* 6 and particularly the rendez-vous between Glaucus and Diomedes. I think that the anonymous poet of the *Batrachomyomachia* was inspired by *Il.* 21.139ff., in which Achilles and Asterope meet.

⁵⁹ Probably this mock-epic is inspired by the Aesopic fables, e.g., 244. Cf. also *Vita Aesopi*, 133 H 298.

⁶⁰ Scholars think that these lines evoke the divine assemblies in *Il.* 4.1-72; 8.1-52; 20.1-40; *Od.* 1.26-95, 5.1-42. But if we examine these lines closely, we find that every time *Il.* 20 and 21 are on the mind of the poet of the *Batrachomyomachia*.

hand to hand, even if a god comes against them. Let us rather all amuse ourselves watching the fight from heaven. (177-196)⁶¹

Athena's speech is constructed as a 'tryptic' (177-186; 187-193; 194 and 194a-196). The background of this 'tryptic' is the Iliadic *theomachia* in which Athena's ἀριστεία is expressed, but her speech conveys a feeling of an anti-*aristeia*. In fact, transforming herself into an ὀοιδός, she forgets all the glorious deeds of the past, concentrating her attention only on petty things. She forgets also her ancient attributes and assumes a ridiculous, comic, burlesque character.

Favouring the mice, Zeus stresses their constant presence in his daughter's temple, σοῦ κατὰ νηὸν (175). L. Bliquez, following Schmidt, states that this indeterminate expression can only be understood as an allusion to the buildings of the Athenian Acropolis.⁶² This hypothesis is even more plausible if we compare this expression to *Od.* 7.78-81, in which Athens and Erechtheus' palace appear as her favourite places. But even if Zeus is not alluding to his daughter's Athenian temple, it is clear that in her answer, Athena voluntarily conceals her role as a warlike city-goddess in order to present herself as a workwoman, a weaver, in a house haunted by destructive guests, the mice.

That Athena is a weaver in these verses is not ridiculous. She is said to have done this kind of work in Homeric poetry and from then onwards. For example, she weaves her own πέπλος and gives the work of her hands to Hera, to Pandora, and even to Heracles and Jason.⁶³ H. Wölke⁶⁴ states that Athena is degraded in these lines because, according to Euripides' *Electra* 307, weaving is the work of slaves,⁶⁵ but I do not think that this argument can be taken seriously.

⁶¹ I take Allen's edition as support (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912) and the translation of H.G. Evelyn-White (London and Cambridge, MA: Loeb, 1914) slightly modified, mostly for the line 184, in which I follow H. Wölke, *Untersuchungen zur Batrachomyomachie*. Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 100 (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1978), and Fuzillo (ed.), *Batrachomyomachia*, who translate ἡπητής as 'mender', while Evelyn-White prefers 'money-lender'.

⁶² L. Bliquez, "Frogs and Mice and Athens", *TAPA* 107 (1977), 11-25, esp. 18.

⁶³ *Il.* 5.735; 14.178; *Od.* 7.110, 20.72; Hes. *Op.* 63-64; *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, 14-15; Ap.Rhod. *Argon.* 1.721-768 (Jason receives this cloak from Athena Itonia); Diod. Sic. 4.14.3.

⁶⁴ Wölke, *Batrachomyomachie*, 237.

⁶⁵ In his commentary, M. Fuzillo accepts H. Wölke's interpretation (Fuzillo [ed.], *Batrachomyomachia*, 116).

Even after Euripides' tragedy, young and aristocratic Athenian women served the goddess as weavers.⁶⁶ Otherwise, in a private context, poor Athenian women worshipped Athena Ergane, their patroness at least from the fourth century onwards.⁶⁷

But I do agree with H. Wölke: Athena is clearly degraded in these lines, and the picture she presents of herself is highly comic because she is deprived of all her powers. The poet mates epic motifs – such as divine wrath and gods' serfdom – to everyday life in order to create this new Athena and to provoke laughter. Thus, her wrath against the mice is useless, she is unable to destroy them as she destroyed her enemies on the battlefield. The wrath that bites her heart is not as visible as the holes, τρώγλαι, the mice bit into her πέπλος. Moreover, the mistress of the spindle and of the loom is unable to mend her own πέπλος, nor can she pay for the mender's work as if her μῆτις had run dry:⁶⁸ she can not conceive of any tricks to help herself.

However, beyond literary parody, the poet is perhaps alluding to, or even parodying, Athenian cult, and particularly the Great Panathenaea. In fact, as Schmidt states, there is an Attic flavour to this text.⁶⁹ She who receives a πέπλος woven by the ἄρρηφόροι and the ἐργαστῖναι seems now to be neglected by her worshippers. She is deprived of almost all care: her ancient πέπλος is no longer washed and the ἄσβεστος lamp that used to burn in her temple seems to have blown out. In her serfdom she is bound to weave; worse, she must borrow money to do this job. A rich goddess, the guardian of the Athenian treasury, is reduced to a state of poverty. The poverty of Athena is even funnier when we think that her Athenian temples were rich in all sorts of offerings, and that it is her head that appears

⁶⁶ *IG* II.2, 1942, 1943 (100 BC), 1034 (98/7 BC), and 1036 (78/7 BC). These ἐργαστῖναι are attached to the most important families at Athens. See P. Brulé, *La Fille d'Athènes. La religion des filles à Athènes à l'époque classique. Mythes, cultes et société* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1987), 100-103.

⁶⁷ F.T. Van Straten, "Gifts for the Gods", in *Faith, Hope and Worship. Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, ed. H.S. Versnel (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981), 65-151. Cf. also votive epigrams in the *Greek Anthology* (ed. Gow-Page), in which the weavers stress their poverty even if they offer gifts to Athena (6.160; 6.39; 6.247; 6.289).

⁶⁸ It is interesting to note that in Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3.1ff., Athena is also deprived of her *metis*. In fact, she is unable to find a trick in order to help Jason to seize the Golden Fleece of Aietes.

⁶⁹ W. Schmid and O. Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* 1.1 (Munich: Beck, 1929), 230, and Bliquez, "Frogs and Mice", 11-25.

on Athenian coins. This picture of Athena as a poor and stripped workwoman is comic: deprived of all the magic powers that characterize a divinity, she is faced with human materialism; as an ordinary woman, in an ordinary house, she fights for her life. Athena seems to be abandoned, completely out of her depth.

In her new state mice seem to be her only guests, replacing the choir of maidens devoted to the worship of Athena. In fact, they are a poor substitute, because they undo and destroy the work and offerings of the human worshippers: they gnaw *στέμματα* and the wicks of the lamps and give nothing in return. They replace even Athena, being the only ones to profit from the offerings to her: effectively they are worshipped instead of her.

But it is important to note that in underlining her Ergane role the poet slides artfully to her warrior role and degrades it. The Great Panathenaea was the festival of all Athenians and the *πέπλος* was the materialisation of the ideal union of all Athenians.⁷⁰ This offering was the work of the Athenian maidens who wove it as well as the work of the *boule* which was charged with examining the pattern to be executed.⁷¹ It was intended to honour her birthday and emphasize her warrior feats in the *gigantomachia*. And it is precisely this gnawed *πέπλος* full of holes that indicates that the goddess cannot protect her city any longer. In fact, a tattered *πέπλος* is the sign that a city is in the hands of its enemies.⁷² Moreover, her ancient warrior feats are buried in oblivion. Even before the battle between mice and frogs she is subdued by earth-born warriors, Titans or Giants.⁷³ Perhaps all these signs can explain why she is presented as a tired goddess, tired of weaving, tired of the battlefield. This is most astonishing because Athena is the one whom Homer presents

⁷⁰ Ar. *Lys.* 565-587. On this topic, see J. Scheid and J. Svenbro, *The Craft of Zeus. Myths of Weaving and Fabric*, tr. C. Volk (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 9-34 and notes pp.174-176; see also N. Loraux, *La cité divisée. L'oubli dans la mémoire d'Athènes* (Paris: Payot, 1997), 90-120.

⁷¹ Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 60.1; see also 43.1; 60.3. On this topic, see E.J.W. Barber, "The Peplos of Athena", in *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens*, ed. J. Neils (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 103-117.

⁷² *Il.* 16.99-100. Cf. M.N. Nagler, *Spontaneity and Tradition: A Study in the Oral Art of Homer* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), 44-63; see also H. Monsacré, "Les voiles d'une cité", in *Les Larmes d'Achille. Le héros, la femme et la souffrance dans la poésie d'Homère* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1984), 68-69.

⁷³ See esp. *Batrachomyomachia* 7.282-283. They are also said to be Centaurs and Giants, line 170.

as always in motion, as if the μένος that she passes on to heroes was a synonym for her κίνησις, and whom Ovid presents as indefatigable in the art of weaving in the contest with Arachne.⁷⁴

If the work of a deity is the epic model for the first speech of Athena, in the second part of this 'tryptic', lines 187-193, the poet emphasizes her refusal to help the frogs by reversing other epic motifs, such as the help the goddess renders her favourites, and her afflictions. In these lines, the poet parodies the traditional tales attached to the Perseus saga. Perseus, conqueror of the Gorgons, is protected and helped by Athena. In one version of this tale, Perseus stops at Seriphus on his way home. As he cannot sleep because Seriphian frogs croak all night, he begs his father's help and Zeus turns the frogs mute forever.⁷⁵ The poet of the *Batrachomyomachia* transforms this tale and gives Athena the place once occupied by the mythical hero. But she is dispossessed of her warrior powers and she lacks the heroism that characterizes Perseus. This new Athena is like an old mercenary. She who possesses the gorgoneion, who is said to be *gorgopis*, and whose gaze is terrifying, is unable to petrify the frogs whose croaking disturbs her. She is unable to silence them or to ask for her father's help. Furthermore, she cannot sleep and has bad headaches provoked by the frogs, and is unable to apply her healing powers to herself. Where is Athena Hygeia?

This second part of Athena's speech can be perceived as the perfect answer to the first one: the inability to mend her πέπλος is reflected here in her inability to heal herself and to find the strength to fight the frogs. The afflictions their tedious croaking provokes are more effective than Athena's spear. Athena is now dismissed from the battlefield, as Ares, Aphrodite, and Artemis are in the Homeric poem: she is no match for the frogs. But let us observe her affliction. How can readers interpret it? Athena's headaches can be understood as an allusion to her birth and Zeus' subsequent headaches. What will become a female affliction in the male imagination was in the first place the monopoly of Zeus. So, it is funny to attribute to a virgin, a goddess who cannot give birth, a pain of childbirth. In this perspective we could understand Athena's affliction as an ironic al-

⁷⁴ Ov. *Met.* 6.1ff.

⁷⁵ Ael. *NA* 3.37. On Seriphian frogs, cf. Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 70.835b3-5, and *Paroemiogr.* 1.222.

lusion to the Panathenaea in which her birth was emphasized. But Athena's head is barren, as is the war between mice and frogs.

So, it is not surprising that in the third part of our text, Athena invites all gods to abandon frogs and mice. Once more the poet debases the war-making power of Athena and of the other gods, and this is clear from her argument, a cowardly argument: gods can be injured by their hosts. Athena's words can be linked to Zeus' comical discourse comparing frogs and mice to Centaurs and Giants (171). The gods have become weak, and there is no place for another *gigantomachia*, for heroic deeds. Appropriating the words spoken by Apollo in the *theomachia*, Athena advises the gods not to intervene in human affairs. Either she is becoming almost Apollonian or she is simply recovering her ancient wisdom: in fact, giving advice is her role from Homeric epic onwards. But, beyond epic, her words, if we return them to the Panathenaic context, could be thought of as an invitation to enjoy her festival procession which all gods attend as in Phidias' Panathenaic frieze.⁷⁶

The poet of the *Batrachomyomachia* undeniably conveys a funny picture of Athena. But given the difficulties of dating and contextualising this text, it is impossible to assert precisely what the meaning of this debasing is.

We could be tempted to argue that this text, which shows Athena giving up her most important functions, goes hand in hand with a new conception of the divinity. In fact, when the city is no longer the reference point, the official gods are neglected, that is to say, people's piety towards them is replaced by showing them off.⁷⁷ From the Hellenistic period onwards, men searched for gods like the Hellenistic kings, who were close to them and could nourish and protect the people effectively. Demetrius Poliorcetes, after becoming the ruler of Athens, was honoured as a god,⁷⁸ and, being 'Olympian',

⁷⁶ On the east frieze, see J. Neils, this volume, esp. pp. 231f.

⁷⁷ For the changing role of the gods from the fourth century BC onwards, and particularly Athena's, see I. Altripp, this volume, p. 195. But even if people look for a close god, it is important to underline that 'official' gods did retain an important role even in this period, as C. Auffarth demonstrates in "Aufnahme und Zurückweisung 'Neuer Götter' im spätklassischen Athen: Religion gegen die Krise, Religion in der Krise?", in *Die athenische Demokratie im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, ed. W. Eder (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1995), 227-365.

⁷⁸ Plut. *Demetr.* 10. See also 11, 12, 13.

he chose the Acropolis as his headquarters and transformed the sanctuary of Athena into a brothel.⁷⁹

Other gods, saviour gods, foreign gods, seemed to be more attractive to a population fascinated by their closeness. But Athena was honoured officially until Late Antiquity, even if her cult was a tourist exhibition,⁸⁰ or the Athenian ruler showing off, rather than a religious manifestation. But this Athena was not a laughable one.

If the *Batrachomyomachia* was a sort of *Gigantomachia* to be sung in a poetic context, as the one Hegemon sang in the fifth century,⁸¹ in a context in honour of Athena, this parody could also be a kind of apotropaic song in which the divinity is debased when the goal is to give her new strength. Subsequently, her re-enacted power would be shared by all citizens, as well as by the city that was placed under her shield. But what city? We are tempted to see Athens behind Athena even if by the first century, Athens could no longer be considered the political centre of the world, nor was it still referred to as the School of Hellas as in the fifth and in the fourth centuries.

However, the *Batrachomyomachia* raises laughter because it is a parody of the high epic. In this poem, the Homeric model, associated with the world of fable, is transferred to the triviality of everyday life, in which mice and frogs impersonate human nature in all its baseness. Being the great divinity of Homeric poetry – warrior goddess in the *Iliad*, ‘domestic’ goddess in the *Odyssey* – Athena becomes step by step all the Greeks’ best friend, precisely by her debasing: she is once more the ‘goddess of nearness’ because she knows all men’s labours and the rude privations of their condition. Above mice and frogs, Athena is the keystone of the debasing of the human nature and of the present of the poet of the *Batrachomyomachia*, whatever this present is.

When the Greeks were scattered all around the world, the Homeric epic was the only kingdom in which they recognized themselves⁸² and Athens was their dreaming land. So, laughing with

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 23, 24. Cf. also the criticism of comic poets, in 26–27.

⁸⁰ Pausanias (1.29.1) states that the Panathenaic chariot which transported the peplos was exhibited for the pleasure of tourists.

⁸¹ Ath. 15.699a. On Hegemon, see Degani, *Poesia*, 17.

⁸² The same phenomenon was perceived in Venice (Italy) by 1486. The *Batrachomyomachia* was published two years before the *editio princeps* of the Homeric corpus. See C. Carpinato, “La Fortuna della *Batrachomyomachia* dal IX al XVI secolo: da testo scolastico a testo ‘politico’”, in Fuzillo (ed.), *Batrachomyomachia*, 137–148, esp. 144–145.

Athena in the *Batrachomyomachia* was somehow a way that Greeks found to appropriate their past, their memory, their inner-self. Leopardi⁸³ considered the *Batrachomyomachia* ‘*bellissima*’. It is indeed *bellissima* because it is an echo of the ancient Greek laughter, that is, as Athena’s laughter itself, strength, fighting memory, cunning, and flashing intelligence.⁸⁴

⁸³ “Discorso sopra la *Batrachomyomachia*”, in G. Leopardi, *Tutte Opere* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1969, 3rd edn. 1983), 387. See also Fuzillo, *Batrachomyomachia* 19.

⁸⁴ I wish to thank Susan Deacy and Alexandra Villing for inviting me to the excellent Oxford Athena Conference. I also thank them and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones for their generous advice, criticism, and encouragement.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

PALLAS/ATHENA IN AND OUT OF THE *AENEID*

Sarah Spence

While Pallas seems to play a limited role in the *Aeneid*, she is in fact crucial to the epic as she embodies, and serves as a means to explore, various sets of tensions in the poem. This chapter will demonstrate that she has a vital role in critical dialogues between two aspects of *furor*, and between *furor* and *pietas* which, among other things, brings her into association with and opposition to Juno. She is also integral to dialogues of masculinity and femininity that underlie the narrative particularly as they are made evident through the manipulation of genre. Her elusive role in the poem, together with her privileged spot as Jupiter's daughter, places her in the position of representing the feminine which, as Julia Kristeva argues, is "that which cannot be represented, that which is not spoken, that which remains outside naming and ideologies".¹ As she defines the feminine within the epic she refines the ideology that underlies it and so is linked to Aeneas as he seeks to make the difficult journey from *furor* to *pietas*, and is associated too, though in a strikingly different way, with Augustus and Augustus' tutelary deity, Apollo.

The paper shows that Pallas is a goddess of boundaries and offers potential for exploring conflicting forces and offering means of resolution for them. In an earlier article² I examined this nexus of associations in one way, namely how the audience is teased with allusions to Pallas until her appearance at the end. This current chapter will explore the same issues from a different perspective; it will demonstrate how crucial the goddess is to the *Aeneid*, and how this importance sheds light also on the goddess's role in the time and culture of Augustus.

To take the last first, the importance of the goddess Pallas/Min-

¹ J. Kristeva, "La femme, ce n'est jamais ça", *Tel Quel* 59 (1974), 21; cited in T. Moi, *Sexual/Textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory* (London: Routledge, 1985), 163.

² S. Spence, "The Polyvalence of Pallas in the *Aeneid*", *Arethusa* 32 (1999), 149-163.

erva to Augustan culture remains a topic of debate. Even her name is a matter of dispute: while there are significant differences in Augustan culture between Pallas and Minerva, Vergil does not seem to draw any clear distinction in his work. 'Minerva' sometimes emphasizes the domestic, as in the description of Camilla at the end of Book 7, but just as often the two names seem interchangeable.³ Ever since the discovery of the trove of Minerva cult statues at Pratica di Mare (ancient Lavinium, the historic site of Latinus' kingdom and Aeneas' defeat of Turnus) the role of Minerva in Roman, particularly Augustan, culture has undergone reevaluation. The find included a wealth of terracotta figures dating from the fourth through third centuries BC and a large statue of Minerva with a Gorgon head on her aegis, and a sword (or, as Erika Simon has argued, thunderbolt) in her hand.⁴ Critics have pointed to the temple to Athena in *Aeneid* 11 and the prophecy of Cassandra cited in Lycophron 1261-1262 that "having built a temple to Athena Aeneas will install the images of the gods in his country".⁵ The find suggests Minerva's significance both to the founding of historic Rome and the propagandistic rendering of Augustan Rome.⁶

Her significance in Augustan iconography is likewise indicated by her role in the Capitoline triad and in Augustan building programmes.⁷ Her appearance on the Ara Pacis, for example, though contested, is argued for.⁸ Her presence in the highly significant re-

³ So E. Henry, *The Vigour of Prophecy* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1989), *passim*.

⁴ Above all, see F. Castagnoli, *Il culto di Minerva a Lavinium* (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1979). More recently see the catalogue, *Enea nel Lazio* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1981). Cf. also E. Simon, *Die Götter der Römer* (Munich: Hirmer, 1990), 173.

⁵ Cf. Dion. Hall., *Ant. Rom.* 1.67.1 who refers only to "the gods that Aeneas brought from Troy and installed at Rome" with no specific reference to Athena.

⁶ On Trojan and Etruscan antecedents, see Spence, "Polyvalence", 150-151. But see also Graf (in this volume) who argues against the significance or even relevance of the Etruscan Menerva. Graf argues for an exclusively Greco-Roman development from Athena to Minerva.

⁷ See E. D'Ambra, *Private Lives, Imperial Virtues: The Frieze of the Forum Transitorium in Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 89. There is tremendous resistance to identifying this figure securely as Pallas; see, for example, N. Thomson de Grummond, "Pax Augusta and the Horae on the Ara Pacis Augustae", *AJA* 94 (1990), 665-667 where Roma is described as "the goddess of war" (p. 667) without then being identified with Pallas.

⁸ Here see K. Galinsky, "Venus, Polysemy, and the Ara Pacis," *AJA* 96 (1992), 457-475, esp. 468-470.

lief within the temple to Actian Apollo on the Palatine is noted.⁹ Two recent theses debate the importance of Pallas to Augustus: Mary Joann McDaniel has argued that Augustus had built a temple to house the Palladium in his house on the Palatine; more recently, Carola Gmyrek has made the argument that while Minerva was important to Augustus only in her Ergane function, Athena was important for his interest in restoring ancient cults.¹⁰

Otto has argued that Athena is the goddess of nearness. Certainly in the *Odyssey* and less often, but just as strikingly, in the *Iliad* her close bond with her heroes is notable. She and Odysseus – even more than Odysseus and Penelope – are cut from the same cloth; the scene in *Odyssey* 19 in which they dissimulate is a *locus classicus* for the sympathy that can exist between mortal and divine. Because of this, her absences are felt all the more strongly; for example, her absence from Odysseus in the first half of the *Odyssey* is devastating. In the *Oresteia* her presence and redefinition in the *Eumenides* makes clear her absence in the earlier parts of the trilogy – perverted avatars in the character of Clytemnestra, for example, remind us of her absence and we welcome the goddess all the more strongly when she appears at the end.

Perhaps because of these two phenomena, her literary affiliation with closeness and her importance to the formation (and, possibly, reformation) of Rome, it is a stunning fact that she is all but absent from the great Augustan literary monument, Vergil's *Aeneid*. In my earlier article I traced a strategic deployment of Pallas within the poem: the audience is teased, as it were, with coy allusions to her,

⁹ See E. Lefèvre, *Das Bild-Programm des Apollo-Tempels auf dem Palatin*. Xenia: Konstanzer althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen, Heft 24. (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag, 1989). See also M.J. Strazzulla, *Il principato di Apollo: Mito e propaganda nelle lastre "Campana" dal tempio di Apollo Palatino* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1990).

¹⁰ C. Gmyrek, *Römische Kaiser und griechische Göttin. Die religiös-politische Funktion der Athena/Minerva in der Selbst- und Reichsdarstellung der römischen Kaiser* (Milan: Ennerre, 1997), 29-37. M.J. McDaniel, *Augustus, the Vestals and the signum imperii* (PhD UNC Chapel Hill, 1995). Dedicated on 28 April 12 BC (seven weeks after he became *pontifex maximus*) the temple would have served to replace the Vestal temple in the Forum and would have housed all of the objects sacred to the Vestals. McDaniel emphasizes the political use Augustus makes of aligning himself with the Vestals; for our purposes, it is telling that the Palladium itself (the one object, McDaniel points out, that bears the title *signum imperii*) would have earned pride of place; clearly the temple housing such an object would have honoured Pallas as well, causing her to be both associated with the Palatine and be uppermost in a Roman's mind. For a somewhat more sceptical view see A. Celani, *Opere d'arte greche nella Roma di Augusto* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1998), esp. 95-96.

and, finally, enticed with her appearance, at the end, through a pun on the name Pallas.¹¹ I proposed there that Pallas was a symbol of reconciliation that applies equally to Aeneas and to Augustus – just as Aeneas installed the gods in Athena’s temple in Latium, so Vergil brings them to Rome – by suggesting that the final scene in which Pallas is finally present takes place, at least on some level, on the Palatine and so in the neighbourhood of buildings and iconography related to Pallas. In this chapter I wish to refine that argument by suggesting that Pallas is contrasted in the poem to Apollo, and that the end of the *Aeneid* needs to be read in this dual context.

Let me briefly rehearse the outlines of this earlier argument as a way of entering into the present one. In my earlier essay I suggest that the *Aeneid* is motivated by two forces: appeasing Juno and pleasing Minerva, and the appeasement is made clear by her tantalizing final appearance at the end of the poem. In the final scene, Aeneas avenges the death of Evander’s son Pallas in a way that is strategically similar to an action described in the opening speech of the poem, when Pallas avenges the wrong done *her* through a similar gesture: where Aeneas stabs Turnus, Pallas impales Ajax. Compare the two scenes:

... Pallasne exurere classem
 Argivum atque ipsos potuit summergere ponto
 unius ob noxam et furias Aiacis Oilei?
 ipsa Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem
 disiecitque rates evertitque aequora ventis,
 illum exspirantem transfixo pectore flammās
 turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto;
 ast ego, quae divum incedo regina Iovisque
 et soror et coniunx, una cum gente tot annos
 bella gero. (*Aen.* 1.39-48)

And Aeneas’ final words:

Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
 immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit. (*Aen.* 12.948-949)

In both passages the name of Pallas is evoked in connection with a

¹¹ Spence, “Polyvalence”. On Pallas in the *Aeneid*, see, e.g., M. Wilhelm, “Minerva in the *Aeneid*”, in *The Two Worlds of the Poet: New Perspectives on Vergil*, eds. R.M. Wilhelm and H. Jones (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), 74-81; A. Barchiesi, “The statue of Athena at Troy and Carthage”, in *Style and Tradition in Honor of Wendell Clausen*, ed. C. Foss and P.E. Knox (Leipzig: Teubner, 1998), 132-142.

punishment for an impious act. In the first, Pallas Athena is avenging the rape of Cassandra in the goddess's temple; in the last, Aeneas, on behalf of Pallas, avenges the death of Evander's son. In each case death is caused by a stabbing, and images of fire and flame appear in both. While the goddess is the referent in the first passage, Evander's son is clearly the primary referent of the final lines; nonetheless, the meter allows for the possibility that the goddess Athena is intended by these lines as well. Both names are the same in the nominative, except for the length of the second 'a': the second 'a' in Pallas, Evander's son, is long by nature, short in the case of the goddess. The meter of this line, however, makes them both long by position, thus allowing for the possibility that Athena, too, is present at this point.¹²

There is certainly literary precedent for such an appearance. Pallas' Greek counterpart Athena plays a critical role in the final confrontation between Achilles and Hector in the *Iliad*. Achilles says to Hector:

No truce till one or the other falls and gluts with blood
 Ares who hacks at men behind his rawhide shield.
 Come, call up whatever courage you can muster.
 Life or death – now prove yourself a spearman,
 a daring man of war! No more escape for you –
 Athena (in the Greek – *Pallas Athena*) will kill you with
 my spear in just a moment. (*Il.* 22.265-271 trans. R. Fagles)

Even as Achilles assigns the death of his opponent to Pallas so, arguably, is the death of Turnus ascribed to the same force.

In addition, in both the *Odyssey* and the *Oresteia* Athena's role is, arguably, similar; in both she appears to stop the ongoing cycles of vengeance. It can and, I think, should be argued that Pallas' appearance in the *Aeneid* serves a comparable function, for here, as there, she serves to resolve a seemingly vengeful struggle. This is, of course, particularly true of her role in the *Oresteia*, for in the *Oresteia* it is Athena who, in contrast to Apollo, stops the cycles of vengeance by setting a justice in place that grants due respect to the furies-turned-Eumenides. So, too, at the close of the *Aeneid*, Jupiter's reconciliation with Juno, which, notably, is put into action by a fury, or *dira*, that flies

¹² This pun has been noted before, most notably by R. Hornsby, "The Armor of the Slain", *Philological Quarterly* 45 (1966), 358-359. See also P. Hardie, *The Epic Successors to Virgil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 19-20, who notes the repetition of 'Pallas' at the beginning and end of the poem.

to earth as Pallas' bird, the owl ("...quae quondam in bustis aut culminibus desertis/ nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras", 12.862-864). Justice is served, the poem suggests, in an *Oresteian* way; it is, as Robert Fagles calls Aeschylus' version, a 'rough justice' at best.

Two things should be noted in this parallel: the implicit contrast between Athena and Apollo that lies dormant behind the final scene of Vergil's work; and, the fact that Vergil's epic ends with a strong echo of another genre, that of tragedy. In Vergil's earlier works women appeared most prominently at the end of the fourth *Georgic* in the story of Orpheus and Eurydice. But that story is set apart from the *Georgic* genre: it is an epyllion, a little epic, a poem within a poem, and so serves as a transitional work, a preparation for the larger epic that is to follow. In the context of the *Georgics*, then, it represents an instance of generic interference where the didactic *Georgic* is taken over by an epic voice which speaks in a different way, from a different angle. That transgression breaks what Derrida has called the 'Law of Genre', according to which "as soon as genre announces itself, one must respect a norm, one must not cross a line of demarcation, one must not risk impurity, anomaly or monstrosity".¹³ But as Barbara Johnson has noted, the law of genre functions like the law of gender, and when one law is broken, so, often, is the other.¹⁴ Examples taken from the opening book of the epic demonstrate that it is precisely the law of gender that this genre, as Vergil presents it, both sets up, through his male figures of *pietas*, and questions through the feminized *furor* they maintain. As we are told in the first few lines, Aeneas is a man marked by *pietas* (*insignem pietate virum*, *Aen.* 1.10) which, as Stefan Weinstock has concluded, meant to show deference and honour to gods and parents. It is also a quality that, in the text, is associated with males and particularly with Aeneas.¹⁵ It is, in short, his defining characteristic,

¹³ J. Derrida, "Law of Genre", *Glyph* 7 (1980), 203-204.

¹⁴ B. Johnson, *Speaking of Gender*, ed. E. Showalter (London: Routledge, 1989).

¹⁵ S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971). *Pietas* is traditionally presented as the isolated, utopian goal of the text. So B. Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964; reprint Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 230: "there could have been no Rome without men like Aeneas ... the victory of *pietas* over *furor* is here finally and definitively related to the moral superiority of Rome to the *impij* and *furiosi*". See also R.D. Williams, *Virgil* (Oxford and London: Clarendon Press, 1967), 33; V. Pöschl, *The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid*, tr. G. Seligson (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), 22ff.; F. Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), chap. 1.

and its precise nature and importance is defined all the more by the catalogue-like display of heroes and leaders who embody *pietas* which takes up much of the first book. No fewer than five male figures are introduced, each demonstrating the power and authority of *pietas*: the god of the winds, Aeolus, "...celsa sedet...arce/ sceptrā tenens mollitque animos et temperat iras" (*Aen.* 1.56-57); the god of the sea, Neptune, who, "sensit...et imis/ stagnas refusa vadis...et alto/ prospiciens summa placidum caput extulit unda...tumida aequora placat/ collectasque fugat nubes solemque reducit" (*Aen.* 1.125-127; 142-143). This action is then explicitly likened to that of an orator:

ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est
 seditio saevitque animis ignobile vulgus,
 iamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat;
 tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
 conspexere, silent arrectisque auribus astant
 ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet. (*Aen.* 1.148-153)

Hard on the heels of these descriptions, Aeneas "climbs a crag to seek a prospect far and wide" (*Aen.* 1.180-181), then speaks to, and calms, his anxious men, all the while holding his own pain "within, hidden" (*Aen.* 1.209). And finally Jupiter, "aethere summo despiciens", calms the distraught Venus, "vultu quo caelum tempestatesque serenat" (*Aen.* 1.223-224; 255).

The course of the text would seem to be clear, its values defined along with its genre. Vertical hierarchies of power are both established and maintained, it would appear, through *pietas*, through deference and honour to gods and parents, which the *Aeneid* seems to gloss in terms of male authority figures. The gods each embody it, Aeneas appears to be learning it. Boundaries are drawn and values asserted. More than that, though, these values are brought to bear on the more immediate political situation through the simile of the orator; the cosmic importance of *pietas*, that force which keeps things in balance, is translated into a civic value where order in the streets is maintained through logic, reason and, above all, speech.

If the feminine, as Kristeva suggests, is that which resides outside of naming, outside of discourse, then it is, at least within the *Aeneid*, outside of the purview of *pietas* and also, arguably, within the domain of Pallas. Latin, too, has a similar distinction that is useful to remember here: both *fas* and *nefas*, right and wrong, are derived from the verb *fari*, to speak. That which is right, as Vergil suggests,

is that which is spoken while *nefas* is unspeakable. Even as the text aligns speech and *pietas* with the masculine so, it suggests, the feminine, and *furor*, are aligned with the unspoken and so, strikingly, with Pallas who remains mute throughout the text. But the fact that Vergil aligns the feminine strongly with instances of generic interference, most notably at the end of the *Georgics* and the end of the *Aeneid* (but also, of course, in the story of Dido), suggests that Vergil sees a third alternative, one that he hints at at the opening of the poem. In Juno's opening speech, the one quoted above about Pallas' killing of Ajax, the possibility arises for a *furor* which is *fas*. Pallas' appearance, hinted at at the end of the poem, likewise suggests the appropriateness of such a *furor*. The *dira* Jupiter sends to inform Turnus of his fate is drawn from beneath his throne and arguably represents Jupiter's furious side that has remained hidden up to this point. Given the associations Vergil makes throughout the epic between *furor* and the feminine, it is Jupiter's feminine side that is, arguably, personified through this *dira* and so validated by Pallas; their father-daughter relationship could indeed support such a reading. It is as the feminine side of the proto-male Jupiter that this *dira* appears: she is shown to represent Jupiter's feminine aspect in the wake of the compromise with Juno and, as such, the reconciliation she represents signals a development that ends the poem.

Elisabeth Henry draws a useful distinction between Juno and Pallas: whereas Juno acts outside of the system, dealing in raw *furor*, Pallas represents *furor* within the system.¹⁶ In contrast to the ambiguity and compromise suggested by Jupiter's dealings with the *dira*, when Juno calls on the *dirae* at the start of the second half of the poem she says (in a line which Freud has made famous) "flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo" (7.312), whereupon "terras horrenda petivit;/ luctificam Allecto dirarum ab sede dearum/ infernisque ciet tenebris" (7.323-325). As Juno reaches into the chthonic regions and calls on the (female) furies, exposing what had been hidden, she quite literally dismantles the Olympian hierarchy by uncovering that which had been suppressed, unspoken, assumed. She engages in a form of unbuilding which, I would argue, is essential to Vergil's overall project of recounting the nature of Rome, but she does it in a context that constantly and systematically aims to suppress her. This act is diametrically opposed to Jupiter's action in

¹⁶ Henry, *Prophecy*, 101, 103.

Book 12 even as it sets the stage for such an event. Despite what Juno says, and what generations of critics have asserted, the poem struggles to suggest that *pietas* is intimately connected to its opposite, *furor*. While the gods and leaders are shown to be working against the forces of *furor* that cluster around the anger of the goddess Juno,¹⁷ the order of events suggests that *pietas* cannot exist without *furor*.¹⁸ Aeolus would be out of a job if the winds did not rage (1.52-63); Aeneas' *pietas* is clearly shown to be a response to his suppressed concerns and anxieties (1.208-209). Even as the poem would seem to be set in motion by the fury of Juno, so the message and ethos of *pietas* is set in the context of *furor*: the one needs the other, the one creates the other. The all-important gestures of asserting authority and independence seem to end in a statement about the impossibility of doing just that. Even as victory entails defeat, so *pietas* implicates *furor*.

Is it not plausible in this context, then, to suggest that Vergil associates the feminine not just with transgression but, more specifically, with the transgression, or adaptation, of the epic and its ideals? In other words, is it not potentially true that Vergil's conception of the epic – as he introduces it in the *Georgics* and plays it out in the *Aeneid* – entails a use of the feminine (in particular, its association with *furor*) as a means of redefining both the genre and its social goals? That causing a woman to appear and guide the action at the same moment that the genre starts to get fuzzy suggests a wish to redefine boundaries, per se, between *fas* and *nefas*, male and female? In the *Aeneid* this is accomplished through the delayed appearance of Pallas Athena. As she appears at the end of the *Aeneid* she represents a simultaneous transgression and redefinition of genre and gender. The action she arguably causes at the end is both *fas* and *nefas*, even as she herself is as masculine as she is feminine, and as absent as she is present. And the intertexts that are brought to bear are drawn from tragedy as much as from epic. As Laura

¹⁷ This point deserves extensive elaboration but, in brief, the very beginning of the epic suggests just this codependency between *pietas* and *furor*: Aeneas' very nature is defined in reaction to and in terms of Juno's wrath. In this context it is interesting to note that Otis (*Virgil*, 220) states that *fatum* and *pietas* are 'interdependent' (as are *fatum* and *violentia* or *furor*) but he sees no dependency between *furor* and *pietas*.

¹⁸ That these two concepts are linked is clearly indicated by the first simile of the poem, where 'arma' are referred to as the weapons of *furor*, and the man, like Aeneas, is marked by his piety (*Aen.* 1.148-153). That *furor* is thus implicitly aligned with the feminine is, I would suggest, all but stated here.

Mulvey argues, “the end [of a narrative] must integrate disorder back into stability. The rule of law closes in the space for transgression and disruption”.¹⁹ But the end of the *Aeneid* offers, instead, “ending without closure [in which] the state of liminality is politically significant [as it] insist[s] on the possibility of change without closure”. If Pallas can be taken as Jupiter’s feminine side, then perhaps her treatment can be explained further by, just as it can further explain, Vergil’s attitude toward the feminine in general.²⁰ As Jupiter’s literal power beneath the throne unleashed at the end, her veiled appearances throughout the poem suggest, to Vergil, at least, a much larger force, comparable to that of Athena at the end of the *Oresteia*.

What I am arguing is that Pallas comes to represent the crux of the *Aeneid*’s efforts to explore the relationship between *furor* and *pietas*. The *Aeneid* is not a poem of rage, any more than it is a poem of *pietas*. Rather, the two forces would seem to be interdependent, played out in the dual subject of the poem, *arma* and *virum*, or *furor* and *pietas*. The poem would seem to be a plea for disclosure, uncovering, as the work tries to make us aware of the fact that the purer a story seems, the more it has to hide. By setting one thing against its apparent opposite the story proposes the interdependent, intertwined nature of such opposed elements, and begins to suggest alternative models for dealing with and resolving the proximity and dependence of such difference. Because Pallas begins the poem in Juno’s opening speech as a representative of *furor* (which, nonetheless, has power) she represents, for the audience at least, the possibility latent in just such a new model.

It is, in short, the “would-have hiddens” that are aligned throughout the poem with the feminine voice, and their revelation aligned with Pallas. The *patria*, the fatherland, sought for so assiduously by

¹⁹ L. Mulvey, *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 161, 170.

²⁰ Study of women in the *Aeneid* really began with Grace Starry West’s 1975 UCLA PhD dissertation, *Women in Vergil’s Aeneid*. Since then, increasing numbers of scholars have started considering the treatment Vergil gives his female characters. In many ways the most insightful and suggestive essay on this topic is P.A. Miller, “Sive deae seu sint dirae obscenaeque volucres”, *Arethusa* 22 (1989), 47–79. His emphasis on the precarious balance achieved at the end of the poem between male and female forces seems very useful and perceptive. See also M. Suzuki, *Metamorphoses of Helen: Authority, Difference and the Epic* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989) and, most recently, A. Keith, *Engendering Rome: Women in Latin Epic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Aeneas, is also labelled the “antiquam ... matrem” (3.96); the landing on Italy (first sighted by the *templum Minervae* in 3.531) at the start of Book 7 is marked by the burial of Aeneas’ nurse Caieta; her bones underlie every step he takes. The feminine is, quite literally, the ground from which male action springs, upon which male action is dependent, even as the feminine is dependent on the male for purposes of recognition. The text seems to be engaged in finding that point of contact that is also the mark of difference, telling the full story, which in this case is both the female and the male side, the history of the feminine as it is inscribed in the story of the masculine, *furor* as a part of *pietas*, Pallas as the feminine aspect of Jupiter.

The verb Vergil uses to describe Aeneas’ final action as he stabs Turnus, *condit*, is also, as many have noted, the verb he uses to describe the founding of Rome at the start: “dum conderet urbem/inferretque deos Latio” (1.5-6). Generally the verb *condere* means to cover with no intent to hide, expressing the suppressed through the acknowledgement of its being hidden.²¹ Significantly, the verb is also used of writing, and Vergil alludes to this double sense in the *Eclogues*.²² While I am not prepared to push this too far, the triple meaning is very suggestive.

Vergil, like Pallas, wants, ultimately, to acknowledge the depths without being bound by them, to acknowledge the literary past without being a slave to it. It is not at all, I would argue, that Vergil wants freedom from the past; rather, they each want to establish a common ground, establish the fact that they belong in the same universe while retaining their differences. To bury a sword, to found a city, to write an epic all entail finding and allowing to speak that level which establishes difference. For Vergil that point of contact is the place where the masculine exposes the feminine, and how better to express it than through the feminine aspect of Jupiter, the goddess Pallas.

Yet the question remains: what is Pallas’ relationship to Augustus? How does this translate into Augustan advice? We have mentioned Augustus’ ambivalence toward the goddess; we have seen Pallas’ strong link with Aeneas, both in the *Aeneid* and elsewhere. Is there a direct translation from one to the other, or not?

In the holdings of the Terme museum lie four pieces of a white

²¹ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v.

²² E.g., *Ecl.* 10.50.

marble krater discovered on the via delle Sette Sale in Rome (Pl. 24; Fig. 1). The krater originally consisted of two major scenes, one on each side. On one side, Aeneas and Ascanius are shown praying to Pallas; on the other an unknown figure is shown worshipping Apollo. The relevance of this krater to our argument is thus evident: it is the one Augustan monument that shows Aeneas and Pallas/Athena in the same scene. It also, however, through the scene shown on the reverse, helps gloss the final lines of the *Aeneid* in an Augustan context.

The krater has been surprisingly understudied. First noted by Paribeni in 1904 and again in 1916, the work was then studied at length by Rostovtzeff in an article published in 1923-24.²³ More recently it was included in a comprehensive study of Roman marble kraters.²⁴ The original discovery included the four extant pieces in the Terme museum together with a fifth piece, known to us through an excellent photograph, which confirms Apollo's presence on the obverse of the krater.²⁵ This piece was presumably sold at the Sotheby auction of May 27, 1929.²⁶ The four remaining pieces, which are in excellent condition, depict two parallel scenes, each side showing a deity on a pedestal, a worshipping mortal, and a sacrificial scene. In each case the god is identified both by a significant attribute and by a tree. Apollo has a drawn bow and is flanked by a laurel tree, Athena wears her helmet, carries a shield, and is framed by an olive tree. The mortal worshipping Athena is identified as Aeneas because of his resemblance to the Aeneas of the Ara Pacis (similar *caput velatum*, beard, stance) and by the presence of a small preceding figure wearing a Phrygian cap, identified as his son Ascanius (or Iulus). Since, unfortunately, the mortal worshipping Apollo is the one fragment of which there is no record, the formula stands at Minerva : Aeneas :: Apollo : blank, although, as we shall see, an identification has been suggested.²⁷

²³ R. Paribeni, *Bolletino d'Arte* 10 (1916), 8, makes mention of the krater. He includes it in his catalogue of the Terme Museum: id., *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1932) 237-238 no. 687 (72260). M. Rostovtzeff, "Augustus", *MDAI (R)* 38-39 (1923/1924), 296, discusses the piece at length.

²⁴ D. Grassinger, *Römische Marmorkratere* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1991), 198-200.

²⁵ C.L. Visconti, "Trovamenti di Oggetti d'arte e di antichità figurata", *Bolletino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* (1886), 339-341, pl. 13.

²⁶ *Catalogue of Egyptian, Greek and Roman Antiquities*, no. 96, May 27, 1929.

²⁷ On Etruscan gestures see R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art: The Use of Gestures to Denote Status in Roman Sculpture and Coinage*, *Memoirs of the Connecticut*

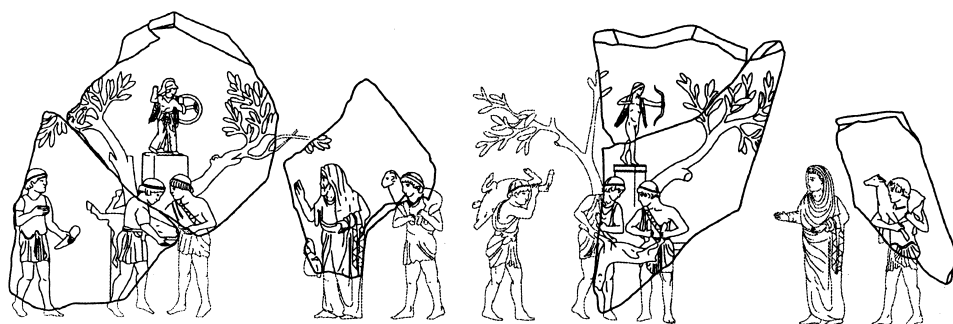


Fig. 1 Marble krater. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 72260.

What are these scenes of? On the Ara Pacis Aeneas is shown worshipping gods in a temple, arguably comparable to his task as described in *Aeneid* 1.6: *inferret deos Latio*. Here there is no evidence of the household gods, usually inferred as the *deos*, and yet the scene is strongly parallel: in both the Ara Pacis and here Aeneas is to the right, the deity worshipped is in the upper left quadrant with sacrifices in the lower left. If one keeps in mind not only the *Aeneid* but also the prophecy of Cassandra, as cited by Lycophron, that “having built a temple to Athena Aeneas will install the images of the gods in his country”, the two scenes are complementary if not repetitive: on the Ara Pacis there is a temple (perhaps to Athena) with gods inside being worshipped; here, the goddess herself is being worshipped. Together the two scenes suggest the fulfilment of Cassandra’s prophecy.

The prophecy of Cassandra (at least this one) is not mentioned or even alluded to in the *Aeneid*. The provenance of the scene on the krater, however, is arguably related to a passage from the *Aeneid* in which Helenus tells Aeneas to cover his head precisely in order to worship

quin ubi transmissae steterint trans aequora classes
et positis aris iam vota in litore solves,
purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu,
ne qua inter sanctos ignis in honore deorum
hostilis facies occurrat et omina turbet.
hunc socii morem sacrorum, hunc ipse teneto;
hac casti maneant in religione nepotes. (*Aen.* 3.403-409)

– which he does for the first time when he sights the temple of Minerva on the headlands of Italy:

Academy of Arts and Sciences vol. 14 (New Haven: The Academy 1963), 23-24, on Etruscan permutations of the adoration gesture; for Etruscan clothing, see L. Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975). On Augustan Roman clothing style (particularly the draping of togas and head coverings visible here) see J.L. Sebesta and L. Bonfante, *The World of Roman Costume* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 20-23. D. Attnally Conlin, *The Artists of the Ara Pacis: The Process of Hellenization in Roman Relief Sculpture* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 68-72 (and plates) establishes a clearly Roman style of sculpting hair, comparable to that on the Apollo side of the krater. For a discussion of the clothing on the krater, see F. Willemsen, “Collecta Membra eines marmornen Prachtkraters der Kaiserzeit”, *MDAI (A)* 76 (1961), 209-218.

tum numina sancta precamur
 Palladis armisonae, quae prima accepit ovantis,
 et capita ante aras Phrygiō velamur amictu,
 praeceptis Heleni, dederat, quae maxima, rite
 Iunoni Argivae iussos adolemus honores. (*Aen.* 3.543-547)

There is no doubt that this event is a key moment in the *Aeneid* as it marks the initiation of Roman religious ritual distinct from Trojan or Greek. It is, arguably, the most palpable change mentioned in the text from Troy to Rome, old culture to new, and it is, I would propose, an indication that piety, new piety signalled by the new ritual, is both a Roman trait and one associated with Pallas/Athena. Given this, the fact that the reverse side of the krater shows what is clearly a parallel scene of worship suggests that the mortal who is missing would be one identified not only with adoration of Apollo but also with a tutelary relationship with the god. We know from the *Res Gestae* that Augustus, attributing his victory at Actium and accession to emperor to Apollo, built temples to Apollo and adopted the bay leaves as his symbol. He also mentions there sacrifices to the god. All of these aspects are borne out by the depiction of Apollo on the shield of Aeneas in Book 8: Apollo is described as “haec cernens arcum intendeat...desuper” (*Aen.* 8.704-705); moreover, it is on the threshold of the temple of Actian Apollo that Augustus himself is portrayed:

ipse sedens niveo candentis limine Phoebi
 dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis
 postibus (*Aen.* 8.720-722)

The textual evidence from the *Aeneid* supports the suggestion made by Rostovtzeff that the missing figure is Augustus.²⁸ If Aeneas was to bring the gods to Latium and install them in a temple to Minerva, surely the shield in the *Aeneid*, and arguably the krater, show Augustus bringing the gods to the Palatine and installing them in a temple to Apollo, the temple he had built and connected to his own house by means of a ramp. What the krater suggests, in addition, is that Aeneas' relationship to Pallas is critical and paralleled by a contemporary relationship of Augustus to Apollo.

Pallas/Athena's significance in the *Aeneid* is clarified both by her transitional status in terms of gender and genre and by the scenes

²⁸ Rostovtzeff, “Augustus”, 296.

on the krater which assert the importance of the passage in Book 3, associating Pallas/Athena with a new, Roman piety, and suggest a parallel between Athena, this piety, and Apollo. But they also suggest, and it is with this that I will end, that the final message of the poem needs to be read back against Aeneas' shield; that, in other words, the questions raised by the death of Turnus are questions also to be asked of the new Aeneas, Augustus, and his actions on behalf of Apollo. I have argued that Pallas embodies the inclusion of *furor* in the redefinition of *pietas* (the new Roman *pietas*). In emphasizing this aspect of Pallas (closely allied throughout the text with the feminine), Vergil suggests the necessity of the feminine to the establishment of culture. Through his careful manipulation of her character – her delayed appearance – he suggests that she is representative of a hidden force that always underlies the action but also always precedes it. This is a system that is structured upon an underlying chaos, not order, a chaos that will always reassert itself, but if incorporated can energize even as it threatens the status quo.

But the Apollo on the shield, and the Augustus worshipping that god, are shown in a different light. Rather than a complex representation of *pietas*, Augustus is likened, through verbal echo, to, of all characters in the poem, Cacus, marked by his bloodthirstiness and lack of *pietas*.²⁹ While Cacus' destroyer, Hercules, may be the model of *pietas* invoked by Evander on the Palatine (and, notably, a *pietas* that includes *furor*), Cacus is the representative of pure, unasimulated *furor*. He thus stands in stark contrast to the Aeneas of the end of the poem. While the shield may show Augustus bringing his gods to the Palatine and installing them in a temple to Apollo, what is distinctly lacking is the complex ambiguity and struggle that marks the redefinition of *pietas* played out in the final scene of the poem. The krater suggests that Augustan ideology might have us look for a parallel between Athena and Apollo precisely in terms of worship and piety; Vergil's poem hints that the equation is flawed. While Augustus' actions in relation to his tutelary deity may recall those of Aeneas and his relationship to Athena, Vergil suggests, they are different in one significant way: their definition of *pietas*. Pallas Athena thus functions in the poem as a representative of the piety

²⁹ See M.C.J. Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs: Ekphrasis in the Aeneid* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 160-162, where he elaborates further on the associations between Augustus and Cacus.

Aeneas comes to embody, a *pietas* that incorporates *furor* into the civilized, that transforms the epic and its hero: in the context of the present argument it is significant that Vulcan's minions are ordered to put aside Pallas' aegis in order to make Aeneas' shield; one, in a sense, replaces the other. She also, however, serves to point up what is missing in Augustus' piety, in which *furor* is unassimilated and destructive, as her relationship to Aeneas is differentiated from that of Apollo to Augustus. The Oresteian context called up by Pallas' appearance at the end of the poem only reinforces our willingness as readers to accept such a contrast between Athena and Apollo and so between Aeneas and Augustus.³⁰

³⁰ I am indebted to Krysia Haag for her excellent drawing of the marble krater in the Museo delle Terme, which she developed from photographs of the extant krater fragments, observations and hypotheses of the author, and the reconstruction suggested by Grassinger, p. 199. Photographs of fragments of the Augustan krater (Museo Nazionale Romano inventory numbers 72257, 72258, 72259, 72260) reproduced with permission of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

GREEK ATHENA AND THE HITTITE SUNGODDESS OF ARINNA

Annette Teffeteller

Our earliest literary sources for Athena – the Homeric epics, Hesiod, and the Hymns¹ – show us a goddess whose first concern is war and the protection of cities and peoples, and of the hero-kings who lead and represent them. Literary and visual depictions continue to emphasize this aspect of Athena throughout the classical period; while the exercise of intelligence, skill, and an interest in craft are important elements in the conception of this complex and multifaceted deity from Homer onward,² it is as the armed guardian of the city and its people – particularly in her city of Athens – that she was most gloriously portrayed and most steadfastly revered.³ In her central function, as in the extent and profundity of her worship, Athena shows marked similarities to an earlier guardian deity, one we have come to know only in recent years, the great Anatolian war-goddess of the second millennium BC, the protectress and champion of the Hittite kings, the widely and intensely revered Sungoddess of Arinna.⁴ The Sungoddess reigned in an age of kings and is known to us through royal annals and inscriptions, and through religious sculptures,

¹ E.g., *Hymn to Aphrodite*, c.700-650, R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod, and the Hymns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 180 (the Hymns to Athena are too brief to be securely dated).

² And cannot, I think, be divorced, at least in their origins, from her guardian role; cf. N. Robertson, “Athena and Early Greek Society: Palladium Shrines and Promontory Shrines”, in *Religion in the Ancient World: New Themes and Approaches*, ed. M. Dillon (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1996), 383.

³ Cf. F. Graf, this volume, p. 138: Athena’s “central function was firmly anchored in her role as a protectress of the polis”.

⁴ The Hittite deity also shares Athena’s association with craft; her holy city of Arinna was a centre of metalworking. Festival texts refer to silver-, gold-, iron- and copper-smiths, collectively designated the ‘Thirteen Smiths’, and smith-gods are worshipped in the rituals of their guild. See V. Haas, *Geschichte der Hethitischen Religion* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 585. For the Sungoddess’s association with justice (subsuming the property of ‘intelligence’) and with the internal welfare of the state, see below.

prayers, ritual texts, and hymns decreed by kings; she protected the state in the person of the king. Athena, on the other hand, is a *polis*-goddess; her affinity with kings is a treasured memory in cult and legend but in the period in which we know her she protects the state by protecting its people.⁵ Tracing a link between these two deities via the Mycenaean guardian goddess glimpsed in our fragmentary visual and documentary record is supported by the abundant evidence we have of contact between Bronze Age Anatolia and the Aegean,⁶ of linguistic and textual connections, of parallels in the political and economic structures of the two regions, and indeed of our evidence for extensive borrowing and syncretism in the religious systems of Anatolia and the Near East.

In the hands of the goddess

When, at the beginning of the sixth century, Solon sang of Athens,

Our city will never be destroyed by the destiny of Zeus
or the intent of the blessed immortal gods.
Such a great-spirited protectress, child of a mighty father,
Pallas Athena, holds her hands out over it,

he expressed, as Robert Parker writes, “for the first time in our records (though scarcely in history) a fundamental tenet of civic piety at Athens”;⁷ the city was inviolable, blessed by the gods, because she was under the protection of the invincible goddess.

Across Greek lands Athena’s role as armed guardian of citadel and city is affirmed by her cult titles and epithets: Ἀλαλκομένη, Προμαχόρμα, Ἄρεια, Ἰππία, Ἀλκίδημος, Ληϊτις, Ἀγελείη, and, above all, Νίκη, ‘Victory’.⁸

⁵ The ‘guardian of Athens’ lost her temple to the Persians but her *people* were saved to build an even more magnificent temple for their guardian goddess.

⁶ Especially in the Luwian coastal areas; indeed, the links between Anatolia and the Aegean are so strong that E. Cline (*Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea: International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean*, BAR International Series 591 [Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1994], 71) considers the paucity of Mycenaean trade goods in the inland areas to reflect an economic embargo by the Hittites.

⁷ R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 69; cf. Parker, “Gods Cruel and Kind”, in *Greek Tragedy and the Historian*, ed. C. Pelling (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 150.

⁸ Ἀλαλκομένη: ‘the helper in battle’; Προμαχόρμα: ‘the one who fights in the forefront of the battle’; Ἄρεια: ‘war-like’; Ἰππία: ‘(war-)horse-goddess’; Ἀλκίδημος: ‘defender of the people’, Ληϊτις, Ἀγελείη: ‘the goddess who gives the

The people of her name-city celebrated her as goddess of victory and gave her weapons of gold on an image of ivory, and (more serviceable) weapons of bronze on the colossal 'Promachos', whose gleaming spear-point could be seen by sailors rounding Sounion, a constant reminder to anyone who came near the city, or heard it from another, that Pallas Athena was ever-watchful, guarding Athens. They remembered her as the guide and guardian of heroes, father and son,⁹ and of their own king at the founding of their land.¹⁰ They revered her as a god of justice and mercy who once came to their own Areopagus to settle a dispute as supreme judge between a young Olympian and the older powers of darkness.¹¹ They celebrated her as Athena Giantslayer,¹² the dread goddess of war, 'the rouser of battle, the leader of the army',¹³ as their staunch and tireless defender, who would destroy their enemies, as she destroyed Hector and his people in the legendary past, turning away from the Trojans even as they prayed to her for pity for their city and their children.¹⁴ The people of Athens told themselves that she would never turn away from them because she was their mother, as well as their queen and their guardian.¹⁵

A thousand years before Solon sang of Athens in Athena's hands, the great goddess of the Hittites, the Sungoddess of Arinna, makes her first appearance in the historical record in the *Annals* of Ḫattušili I. Already here, at the beginning of the Hittite records in the Old Kingdom, the goddess leads the king into battle. Claiming her favour with blended pride and reverence, Ḫattušili addresses her as 'Sungoddess of Arinna, My Lady' (^PUTU ^{URU}Arinna GAŠAN-IA) and declares himself 'beloved' of the goddess, his protectress and champion in warfare: 'She held me in her hand. She

battle-spoil and to whom tithes of the spoil are dedicated'; Farnell, *Cults* 1, 309-313; on 'Ἀγλαΐη see C. Higbie, this volume p. 105f., and J.B. Hainsworth, *The Iliad: A Commentary. Vol. III: books 9-12* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 29.

⁹ *Il.* 5.733-908; cf. 384-391 (Tydeus-Diomedes; cf. Odysseus-Telemachus, etc.)

¹⁰ On Erechtheus/Erichthonius, see M. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* (2nd edn. Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1950; reprinted New York: Biblio and Tannen, 1971), 488, 562-564.

¹¹ *Eum.* 566-end.

¹² Cf. Farnell, *Cults* 1.309; cf. R. Parker, 'Myths of Early Athens', in *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*, ed. J. Bremmer (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 192-193.

¹³ Hes. *Theog.* 924.

¹⁴ *Il.* 6.269, 279, 297ff.

¹⁵ Eur. *Herac.* 770-771.

ran before me in the battle'.¹⁶ She gives him victory and he brings back booty, silver and gold, to her temple.¹⁷

Intermediate between Sungod and Stormgod in the Hittite pantheon, partaking of the nature of both,¹⁸ the Sungoddess of Arinna is a Hattic deity, adopted by the Hittites when they took over political power from the indigenous (non-Indo-European) Hattians. She is 'Queen of the Ḫatti Land'¹⁹ in the godlists of the Hittite treaties and the deity who 'guides kingship and queenship in the Ḫatti land', as recorded in a treaty of the Early Empire.²⁰

Muršili II, in the Empire period, records the reverence shown to the Sungoddess of Arinna in the early days of the Hittite Kingdom:

For of old the Land of Ḫatti with the help of the
Sungoddess of Arinna used to rage against the
surrounding lands like a lion. And moreover
whatever (cities such as) Aleppo and Babylon
it used to destroy, the possessions of every
country, the silver, the gold and the gods –
they used to place them before the Sungoddess
of Arinna.²¹

Her continuing status as chief patron of the monarch is confirmed by the public proclamation of Ḫattušili III, designed to establish his dynastic legitimacy following his seizure of the throne in 1267, in which he appeals to his royal ancestry and to the favour of the gods

¹⁶ *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (Leipzig and Berlin) (= KBo) 10.2.1.29; D. Yoshida, *Untersuchungen zu den Sonnengöttheiten bei den Hethitern* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1996), 55.

¹⁷ O.R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 11.

¹⁸ Hittitologists, not being burdened with the classicist's heritage of nineteenth-century excesses of 'meteorological' interpretation of ancient divinities, speak freely of 'Sungods' and 'Stormgods'. Indeed, they have little choice, since that is what the Hittites called their gods. The most cursory glance at the Hittite records, however, both documentary and monumental, is sufficient to dispel any suspicion that the Hittite conception of divinity may be reduced to 'meteorological' phenomena. Very broadly speaking, sungods provide benefits to humankind and oversee matters of justice while stormgods are concerned with warfare and with the vitally important water supply. Both are jointly responsible for the welfare of monarch and state.

¹⁹ The Hittites continued to use the name 'Ḫatti' for their homeland in the bend of the Halys River (Kızıl Irmak) in north-central Anatolia.

²⁰ C.F. Justus, "Indo-Europeanization of Myth and Syntax in Anatolian Hittite: Dating of Texts as an Index", *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* 11 (1983), 59-103.

²¹ *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (Berlin) (= KUB) 24.3 (+) (E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* [= CTH] [Paris 1971] 376A) 2.44-48; T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 104.

traditionally enjoyed by Hittite kings, declaring himself to be 'beloved of the Sungoddess of Arinna'.²² It was Ḫattušili's queen, Puduḫepa, the Kizzuwatnan priestess, who attempted a syncretism of the Sungoddess of Arinna with the Hurrian goddess Ḫepat, as is made explicit in the opening lines of the queen's prayer to the deity:

To the Sungoddess of Arinna, My Lady, the
Mistress of the Ḫatti lands, the Queen of heaven
and earth. Sungoddess of Arinna, you are
Queen of all countries! In the Land of Ḫatti
you bear the name of the Sungoddess of Arinna;
but in the land which you made the cedar land
you bear the name Ḫepat.²³

This is the amalgamated deity who heads the pantheon of goddesses in the rock sculptures of the open-air shrine of Yazılıkaya, near the Hittite capital of Ḫattuša, where she is represented as the consort of the (syncretized) Stormgod-Tešup in the Hurrian-Hittite pantheon. Yet, despite these efforts at syncretism, the name and nature of the Sungoddess endure to the end of our records of the Hittite kingdom. The last known record of the last known king, Šuppiluliuma II's account of his military campaigns in the hieroglyphic SÜDBURG inscription (excavated in 1988 and published by J.D. Hawkins in 1995), echoes the same proud claim to the favour of the Sungoddess of Arinna that had been the boast and bulwark of the Hittite kings for nearly half a millennium.²⁴

Muršili II, who makes frequent reference to the gods who stood by his father, the great Šuppiluliuma I, in battle – the Sungoddess of Arinna, the Stormgod of Ḫatti, the Stormgod of the Army and Ištar of the Battlefield – has left us an unparalleled hymn of praise which reveals the full extent of the goddess's meaning to the Hittites, her sovereignty in heaven as on earth, her justice and her mercy; she hears the prayers of her people, she is 'the father and mother of every land':

²² KBo 6.28 (CTH 88); Bryce, *Kingdom*, 288.

²³ KUB 21.27 (CTH 384) 2.1-6; Bryce, *Kingdom*, 317; cf. E. Laroche, "La réforme religieuse du roi Tudhaliya IV et sa signification politique", in *Les syncrétismes dans les religions de l'antiquité*, ed. F. Dunand and P. Lévêque (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 87-95.

²⁴ J.D. Hawkins, *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa (SÜDBURG)*, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten*, Beiheft 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 23.

Thou, Sungoddess of Arinna, art an honoured deity;
 and thy name is honoured among names. Thy divinity
 is honoured among the gods....
 Of sure (?)
 judgement thou art lord, and kingship in heaven
 and [earth] thou controllest (?).
 Thou settest the boundaries of the [lands];
 and it is thou that hearest the prayer.
 Thou, O Sungoddess of Arinna, a merciful god art thou,
 [and] it is thou that takest pity.
 Among the lands thou art the deity whose cult is (most) celebrated,
 and thou art the father (and) mother of every land.
 The inspired lord of justice art thou,
 and in the place of justice thou art untiring.²⁵

We do not know when the Sungoddess of Arinna was adopted by the Hittites and made their preeminent goddess, their helper in war and the guide and guardian of their king and kingdom; we know only that she held this position from our earliest attested documents in the seventeenth century BC. If she did indeed find her way westward into Greek lands (perhaps blending en route with an indigenous deity)²⁶ to evolve into the comrade-in-arms of Homeric kings and the great citadel goddess who, above all other cities, guarded Athens, she would have had ample opportunity to make the journey at any point in the course of the restless second millennium, when traders moved freely back and forth from the coast of Anatolia and Syria to Egypt, Crete and the islands, even the mainland, and colonists from Anatolia and the Near East spread throughout the Aegean.²⁷ The archaeological and documentary records show us fifteenth-century Mycenaean Greeks establishing settlements (or forcibly occupying Minoan sites) in the Aegean and western Anatolia, sailing up the coast, perhaps to trade for horses with the Trojans, and establishing *xenos* relationships with Anatolians. In the Hittite tablets we see Attariššiyas, ‘the man of Ahhiya’, provoking the intervention of the Hittite king by his raids along the Anatolian coast, and the later king of Ahhiyawa making war in Arzawa and

²⁵ KBo 2034 1.29-58; O.R. Gurney, “Hittite Prayers of Mursili II”, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 27 (1940), 9-11; Gurney’s translation, 23-25.

²⁶ For this type of development on Roman soil, see F. Graf, this volume.

²⁷ M.L. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 4-8, 606-624; O. Dickinson, *The Aegean Bronze Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

the Şeḫa River Land. These were the days when the Hittite king and Tawagalawa, the brother of the king of Aḫḫiyawa, rode together with the charioteer Dabala-Tarḫunta in their three-man Hittite chariot,²⁸ and the *maryannu*, the élite chariot warrior of the Near East, may already have provided a name for Cretan charioteers: *Mārionās* (Homeric *Mērionēs*) of the ancient formulaic verse *Mārionās ḫatálantós Enūwalíōi anṛq^whóntāi*, shown to be pre-Mycenaean by the treatment of the syllabic *r* (resulting in correct scansion) in *anṛq^whóntāi* (later ἄνδρειφόντη).²⁹ This is the period when the Hittite king was concluding his treaty with Alakšanduš of Wiluša³⁰ and the Luwians were singing their '*Wilušiad*' at the great Hittite religious festivals in the cult city of Iṣtanuwa;³¹ when Greek lands were part of the Hittite 'sense of place'³² and singers and craftsmen, healers, seers, and priests travelled from country to country, "whether", M.L. West observes, "on their own initiative or by royal command", for, as Homer's Eumaeus says, "these are the people who get invited across the boundless earth".³³ As Calvert Watkins points out, "the western coast of Asia Minor from Lycia to Troy is peppered with Mycenaean finds, graves, and even settlements, like Miletos. Eco-

²⁸ For these and other connections between Mycenaean Greeks and Anatolia, see H.G. Güterbock, M.J. Mellink, and E.T. Vermeule, "The Hittites and the Aegean World", *AJA* 87 (1983), 133-143.

²⁹ M.L. West, "Homer's Meter", in *A New Companion to Homer*, ed. I. Morris and B. Powell (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 234; cf. West, *Helicon*, 612; "The Rise of the Greek Epic", *JHS* 108 (1988), 156-159; C. Watkins, "Linguistic and Archaeological Light on Some Homeric Formulas", in *Proto-Indo-European: The Archaeology of a Linguistic Problem*, ed. S.N. Skomal and E.C. Polomé (Washington, DC.: Institute for the Study of Man, 1987), 286-298; F. Schachermeyr, *Atti e Memorie del I Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia* (Rome: Ateneo 1968), 306.

³⁰ H.G. Güterbock, "Troy in Hittite Texts? Wilusa, Ahhiyawa, and Hittite History", in *Troy and the Trojan War*, ed. M.J. Mellink (Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Bryn Mawr College, 1986), 33-44.

³¹ C. Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 144-151; id., "The Comparison of Formulaic Sequences", in *Reconstructing Languages and Cultures*, ed. E.C. Polomé and W. Winter (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1992), 410; id., "The Language of the Trojans" in Mellink *Troy* (see previous note), 45-62.

³² J. Puhvel, "West-Indo-European Affinities of Anatolian", in *Früh-, Mittel-, Spätindogermanisch*, ed. G.E. Dunkel et al. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1994), 316-319.

³³ West, *Helicon*, 611; *Od.* 17.386 (West's translation); cf. W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992); id., "Itinerant Diviners and Magicians: A Neglected Element in Cultural Contacts", in *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B. C.* ed. R. Hägg (Stockholm: The Swedish Institute in Athens, 1983), 115-119.

nomically this means trade, and linguistically it means widespread Greek-Asiatic bilingualism.”³⁴

Indeed, we do not know that the Anatolian goddess was not in Crete even before our Hittite records begin. The view that the many place names in *-ss* and *-nth* (or *-nd*) scattered across Crete, Cyprus, Thrace, and the Greek mainland were brought there by speakers of Proto-Anatolian has recently been authoritatively revived,³⁵ and archaeological evidence suggests that agriculturalists from southern or western Anatolia were established at Knossos by the early seventh millennium or possibly even the late eighth.³⁶ The pervasive religious iconography of Minoan Crete (the ‘horns of consecration’) was shaped by the Anatolian cult seen at Bronze Age Beycesultan (as in Neolithic Çatal Hüyük), no doubt with the aid of bilingual priests and craftsmen,³⁷ and there is no indication that the links between Anatolia and Crete were not still in place during the relevant period of Hittite supremacy.

The Lady of At^(h)ana

While the evidence we have does not admit of anything approaching proof, it does offer tantalizing hints of a possible progression of the goddess. *Atanapotinija*, recorded on a dedicatory tablet at Knossos, c. 1400 BC, alongside Enyalios, Paiaon, and Poseidon, appears to name a *Potnia* of a place *At^(h)ana*.³⁸ The connection with the name Athens/Athena is too apposite to be denied (the place name was perhaps duplicated in Bronze Age Crete). Homer has the form Ἀθήνη (older Ἀθῆνᾱ, alongside the adjectival Ἀθηναίη, later contracted to Ἀθηνᾶα, Ἀθηνᾶ), patterning with toponymics in

³⁴ Watkins, “The Language of the Trojans”, in Mellink (see note 30 above), 47.

³⁵ O. Carruba, “L’Arrivo dei greci, le migrazioni indoeuropee e il ‘Ritorno’ degli Ercolidi”, *Athenaeum* 83 (1995), 5-44.; cf. R. Drews, “PIE Speakers and PA Speakers”, *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* 25 (1997), 153-177.

³⁶ Drews, “PIE Speakers”, 161-162 (with lit.).

³⁷ Cf. L.R. Palmer, *Mycenaeans and Minoans* (London: Faber, 1961), 232, 238-39; for similar iconography in Neolithic Çatal Hüyük see W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, transl. J. Raffan (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1985), 11-12, with reference to J. Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük: A Neolithic Town in Anatolia* (London: Thames and Hudson), 1967.

³⁸ J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (2nd edn. Cambridge: University Press, 1973), 311; Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 139; L.R. Palmer, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 239.

-ānā (-ēnē).³⁹ The Minoan-Mycenaean 'Lady of At^hana' (*atanapotinja*) and the Homeric 'At^hanian Lady' (πότνι 'Ἀθηναίη) would thus be merely morphosyntactic (and dialectal) variants of a single title. Moreover, given the company she keeps on KN V52, the Lady of At^hana is almost certain to be a war-goddess, and may therefore be compared to the shield-deity seen on a Minoan-Mycenaean gold signet ring and an amethyst seal,⁴⁰ as well as the shield(-goddess?) engraved on a Minoan cult axe from the Mesara.⁴¹ The Shield Goddess is found on the mainland on a painted stucco plaque from the Cult Centre of the citadel of Mycenae (not far from the site of the later temple of Athena), showing the guardian goddess all but eclipsed by a figure-of-eight shield, and flanked by two devotees.⁴² No great stretch of the imagination is required to see in this figure the protectress of the people, the helper goddess of the battlefield, of the hero and the king, and from that point it is a small step to the Shield of Athens, Pallas Athena.⁴³ The evidence is circumstantial, to be sure, but nonetheless it clearly points to compelling links between the name on the tablet, the painted deity on the plaque, and the great war-goddess of later Greek literature, myth, and political reality. In the context of the extensive east-west contacts throughout the Aegean Bronze Age, and the marked Eastern orientation of the Mycenaean era in its socio-political, economic, and religious structures, indeed even in the recording of the palace inventories in a syllabic script on clay tablets, and of the precedence accorded Crete in religious matters,⁴⁴ it is intriguing that our first apparent reference to the name Athena occurs here, at Knossos, which had looked East

³⁹ Nilsson, *MMR*, 489-490; Palmer, *MGT*, 239; cf. B. Dietrich, *Tradition in Greek Religion* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1986), 79 and note 233.

⁴⁰ See, e.g., P. Rehak, "New Observations on the Mycenaean 'Warrior Goddess'", *AA* 1984, 535-545 (the ring was found at Mycenae; the seal is of unknown provenience).

⁴¹ T. E. Small, "A Possible Shield-Goddess from Crete", *Kadmos* 5 (1966), 103-107.

⁴² Cf. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 32, 42, 140; Small, "Crete"; Rehak, "Warrior Goddess"; J. T. Hooker, "An Athena at Mycenae?", in id., *Scripta Minora*, ed. F. Amory, P. Considine and S. Hooker (Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert, 1996), 355-372 (who, with customary scepticism, questions the interpretation and significance of the plaque).

⁴³ Cf. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 140. The name *Pallas* may well mean 'shield', cf. Luwian *palaḥša*, glossed by H.C. Melchert, *Cuneiform Luwian Lexicon* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 164, as "'blanket, coat' (or sim.)" and apparently related (with anaptyctic vowel) to a verb *palla-* 'make flat, spread out'. (For an equation with Semitic *ba'lat* 'lady' see O. Szemerényi, "The Origins of the Greek Lexicon: *Ex oriente lux*", *JHS* 94 [1974], 155 note 72.)

⁴⁴ Cf. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 10-53; Palmer, *MM*, 106, 109; J.T. Killen, "The

for five millennia before she saw the Mycenaeans. The pressing question, it seems, is whether a Minoan-Mycenaean Shield Goddess, worshipped on Crete by the mid-second millennium, could have escaped the influence of the great Anatolian war-goddess, whose devotees, whether priests, warriors, traders, craftsmen, or, indeed, singers, were in extensive contact with the Mycenaeans, and the Minoans before them, all along the western coast of Asia Minor and across the Aegean.⁴⁵

Athena, Athens, and the Sungoddess

While we have no direct evidence for Athena in Athens in the Mycenaean period, later Athenian claims of autochthony point to, at the very least, Athenian *perception* of an ancient lineage for the city and for her gods, as do the myths of Cecrops, Erechtheus/Erichthonius, and the founding of the city, a perception substantiated by archaeological evidence for continuous habitation of Attica from the Neolithic era, including the period following the collapse of Mycenaean sites elsewhere. The *archon basileus*, likewise, clearly represents the remnant of an earlier political and religious structure, one which parallels that of the Hittites, in which the king is "not only leader in war and supreme judge but also chief priest of the national cults".⁴⁶

Athens' famous story, famously depicted on the goddess's temple, of the contest of Athena and Poseidon for the city may indeed, as has been frequently assumed since antiquity, reflect a conflict of opposing cults; such conflicts were common in the ancient Near East and Poseidon's history as the loser of a number of similar conflicts throughout the mainland, coupled with his evident status in the early Peloponnese, lends credence to the story.⁴⁷ It is, however, at least as likely and perhaps more so, that a significant part of this

Linear B Tablets and the Mycenaean Economy", in *Linear B: A 1984 Survey*, ed. A. Morpurgo Davies and Y. Duhoux (Louvain-la-Neuve: Cabay, 1985), 241-305.

⁴⁵ Of particular interest is Athena's special association with Rhodes (off the coast of the second-millennium Lukka-lands), said by the Lindians to pre-date the Trojan War; see C. Higbie, this volume.

⁴⁶ O.R. Gurney, "Hittite Kingship", in *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship*, ed. S.H. Hooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 105; cf. Parker, "Myths", 195; *Athenian Religion*, 7-8, 27.

⁴⁷ Cf. Parker "Myths", 199; Palmer, *MM*, 122.

myth is based on misinterpretation of earlier iconography, both visual and encoded in cultic activity and oral accounts, linking Athena and Poseidon as joint protectors of the king and the kingdom. Scraps of evidence in the Athenian record point to such cooperation, from literary references to the part played by both Athena and Poseidon in the myth of Erechtheus to later attested cult practice, such as the identification of Poseidon and Erechtheus or the joint participation of the priest of Poseidon and the priestess of Athena in the *Skira* festival.⁴⁸ The founding myth's account of Zeus' intervention to separate the contestants and decide the issue by hurling a thunderbolt between them⁴⁹ may well be a narrative reinterpretation of an earlier visual representation⁵⁰ symbolizing the cooperation of Athena and Poseidon in founding and guarding the city-state, their protective martial prowess indicated by the shared attribute of the thunderbolt, a weapon to which both deities have some claim.⁵¹ Multiple and shared duties are by no means un-

⁴⁸ Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 290.

⁴⁹ Cf. the recent find of an Attic red-figure vase from Pella, dated to c. 400, showing Athena and Poseidon with a thunderbolt between them; *Greece and the Sea*, ed. A. Delivorrias (Athens: The Greek Ministry of Culture/Benaki Museum, 1987), 202-206, no. 104 (I am indebted to Alexandra Villing for this reference); cf. Parker, "Myths", 198-200 and 211 note 50.

⁵⁰ Similarly, the curious myth of the Birth of Athena is likely to have originated in a reinterpretation as narrative biography of the symbolic representation of the Near Eastern 'Smiting God' – in Promachos pose – standing atop a deified mountain. For illustration see, e.g., J. G. Macqueen, *The Hittites and their Contemporaries in Asia Minor* (rev. edn. London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 98 (the Fasillar monument). (Cf. Homer's story of Niobe (*Il.* 24.602-618), an aetiological narrative originating in the Hittite rock-sculpture at Sipylus; see, e.g., Macqueen, *Hittites*, 112, 148.)

⁵¹ Only Athena has access to Zeus' thunderbolts: Aesch., *Eum.* 827-828, while the trident with which Poseidon strikes rocks and releases water, like the *vajra* – with which the Vedic Indra strikes boulders, releasing water or light, was long ago recognized as the late reflex of an original thunderbolt: see A.B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion* (New York: Biblio and Tannen, 1965: reprint of the 1914-1940 edn.), vol. 2, 786-98 (with lit.); cf. the variant versions of the role of these two deities in the death of Locrian Ajax, *Od.* 4.499-511, *Aen.* 1.39-45. Note further that the hieroglyph of the Anatolian Stormgod is a stylized *W*-shape, identical in many representations to the prongs of a trident (for illustrations see, e.g., O.R. Gurney, *The Hittites* [2nd edn. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961], 207 and fig. 28); see especially the variant at Yazılıkaya, a three-tined lightning fork; cf. R.L. Alexander, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of Yazılıkaya* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 34, 137. Indeed, various indications point to a conception of Poseidon which shows striking parallels to the military and political aspects of the Anatolian Stormgod, as well as to his role as *Quell-öffner*. On Indra see G. Nagy, "Perkunas and Perunu", in *Antiquitates Indogermanicae. Gedenkschrift f. Hermann Güntert*, ed. M. Mayrhofer et al. (Innsbruck: Inst. f. Sprachwissenschaft d. Univ. Innsbruck, 1974), 120-122.

common for ancient deities; the Hittite Sungoddess and Stormgod, for example, share responsibility for the state and the welfare of the king, as recorded in ubiquitous documents and monuments,⁵² while Athena and Zeus both serve as patrons of Greek kings.⁵³

Athena also shares with her father a concern for justice typical of (all-seeing) solar deities.⁵⁴ The portrait of her as supreme judge of Athens' Areopagus left us by Aeschylus⁵⁵ recalls the Hittite hymnist's words of praise and gratitude for his goddess: 'The inspired lord of justice art thou, and in the place of justice thou art untiring'. To be sure, Athena is not in any obvious sense a solar deity,⁵⁶ but neither is the Hittite goddess a 'cosmological' deity in any overt sense. While sundisks are used in her cult ritual,⁵⁷ her solar aspect is largely realized as productive of beneficence, and Athena is certainly a beneficent deity, daughter of the great benefactor, Zeus. Some indications may be seen in her myths and attributes, as well, which point in this direction: her golden lamp, whose splendid light illuminates Odysseus in a moment of crisis, and which held a significant place in Athenian cult, may be important in this regard,⁵⁸ while the shower of gold rained on Rhodes by Zeus to celebrate her birth is appropriately intermediate between sun- and storm-imagery.⁵⁹

⁵² E.g., *KUB XXIX.1.i.17-18*; *StBoT Bh.1.iii.75-77*; cf. T. van den Hout, *The Purity of Kingship* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 73-75; K. Bittel, "The Great Temple of Hattusha-Bogazköy", *AJA* 80 (1976), 67-68.

⁵³ Cf. the links between Athena and Poseidon at, e.g., Corinth, Troizen, and Colonos (Soph. *OC* 1070-1073). Indeed, the provinces of ancient deities are by no means as clear-cut and unambiguous as we sometimes expect them to be; see Parker, "Gods", 148, on "real religion" as "a jostling mass of competing beliefs and values and interpretations and uncertainties."

⁵⁴ Greek *Zeus* is cognate with the name of the Hittite Sungod, *Šiuš* (from **dieu-ph₂ter*, the name of the Indo-European *pater familias* of deities, the god of the bright, sunlit sky (Ζεῦ πάτερ, *Attaš Šiuš*, cf. Latin *Iuppiter* / *Diespiter*, Vedic *Dīaus pítar*, Luwian *Tatis Tiwaz*, Palaic *Tiyaz*); Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon*, 8, and "god", in *Antiquitates Indogermanicae* (see note 51 above), 101-110.

⁵⁵ *Eum.* 566-end.

⁵⁶ For Athena's connections with weather magic via the *aegis* see N. Robertson, this volume.

⁵⁷ (As, interestingly, is the bathing of the cult statues); Gurney, "Kingship", 120.

⁵⁸ *Od.* 19.34; cf. T.B.L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (London: Methuen, 1958), 107; H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 152; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin: H. Keller, 1932; rept. Hildesheim: Olms, 1959), 20.

⁵⁹ *Pind. Ol.* 7.34, 49-53.

But perhaps the most suggestive of material associations linking Athena to the Anatolian Sungoddess is the sacred spring of Athens' citadel.⁶⁰ Although widely interpreted in antiquity as in modern times as sea-water, the *θάλασσα Ἐρεχθίδς*, which Poseidon with a stroke of his trident brought forth from the Acropolis rock seems certain to have referred originally to a fresh-water spring, perhaps the Mycenaean spring-well at the entrance to 'Aglauros' Cave'.⁶¹ The name 'Arinna' appears to mean a 'spring' or a spring-fed 'pool' or 'well',⁶² and it is assumed that the original holy city of Arinna (which may have been located at the site of the classical Basilica Therma)⁶³ had a sacred spring,⁶⁴ as did the Hittite capital: the hieroglyphic inscription known as the SÜDBURG was set up in the sacred pool complex of Ḫattuša. Indeed, Hittite monuments, both inscriptions and rock-sculptures, are almost invariably located in the vicinity of springs,⁶⁵ and the Sungoddess's prominent presence on these monuments further supports her association with sacred springs, whether that association is primary, in her own right, or secondary, through her connections with the Stormgod responsible for flowing water, as Athena's association with the Acropolis spring is mediated through her involvement with the *Quellöfner* Poseidon.

The mere existence of a spring on the Athenian Acropolis can hardly be considered significant in this regard; it would be a poor citadel that did not have a source of fresh water in case of siege. But only Athens builds the sacred spring into her foundation myth. Understanding the Athenian *θάλασσα* as a sacred fresh-water spring makes sense of the word in the context of the myth and brings the entire myth and its participants into a coherent symbolic

⁶⁰ Alexandra Villing draws my attention to Athena's sanctuaries in Arcadia as well, at least two of which (the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and that of Athena Alalkomenia at Mantinea) appear to feature springs.

⁶¹ M. Nyman, "A Pre-marine Vestige of *thalassa*: An Etymological Proposal", *Arctos* 14 (1980), 63-64; cf. O. Broneer, "A Mycenaean Fountain on the Athenian Acropolis", *Hesp.* 8 (1939) 317-433; for the recent identification of the sanctuary of Aglauros on the east side of the Acropolis see G. Dontas, "The True Aglaurion", *Hesp.* 52 (1983), 48-63.

⁶² The name is sometimes written with the logogram for 'spring', PÚ-na (formerly read TÚL-na).

⁶³ J. Garstang and O.R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1959), 20.

⁶⁴ E. Forrer, "Quelle und Brunnen in Alt-Vorderasien", *Glotta* 26 (1938), 178-203.

⁶⁵ Hawkins, SÜDBURG; cf. Macqueen, *Hittites*, 112.

religious account of the foundation of a city, with compelling correspondences with the name, with the city's salient sacred feature, and with the goddess of the holy Anatolian city of Arinna.

The name of Athena

The origin and meaning of the name *Athena* are unknown, all attempts at derivation having thus far proved unsuccessful⁶⁶ – not surprisingly, indeed, since the etymologizing of personal and place names is an exceptionally hazardous endeavour. If, however, the parallels discussed above between the Hittite and the Greek guardian deities are deemed to indicate (some degree of) derivation of the later figure from the earlier, the possibility that the Greek name was borrowed from the Anatolian must be considered, especially in view of the fact that the Greek name fits the pattern of toponymics. Borrowing from Hittite directly into Greek, while certainly not impossible, is not as likely as borrowing from (or via) an Anatolian language of the southern and western coastal regions such as Luwian or the related but unattested ancestor of Lycian; the inhabitants of these areas will themselves have borrowed many words, especially names, from the neighbouring and linguistically closely related Hittites,⁶⁷ passing them on in turn to other languages current in Anatolia and the Aegean, including no doubt those languages whose existence in second-millennium Crete is assured but whose phonology remains a mystery.

⁶⁶ Nilsson's judgement that derivational efforts "have failed and are not worth mentioning" (*MMR*, 489), if severe, was just and is applicable still; see his *Die Anfänge der Göttin Athene*, Det K. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-filol. Medd., IV.7, (Copenhagen, 1921); Szemerényi's derivation ("Origins", 154-155; cf. Neils, this volume, p. 220) from Hittite *atta* 'father' (with the toponymic suffix *-ānā*) is unconvincing; for a recent study see W. Pötscher, *Hera: Ein Strukturanalyse im Vergleich mit Athena* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987), 160-168. The phonological, morphological and methodological deficiencies of M. Bernal's recent derivation from Egyptian *Ht Nt* 'Temple of (the goddess) Nēit' (*Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, vol. 1, *The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985* [London: Free Association Books, 1987], 51ff.) have been definitively exposed in the brief but trenchant rebuttal of J. Jasanoff and A. Nussbaum, "Word Games: The Linguistic Evidence in *Black Athena*", in *Black Athena Revisited*, ed. M. Lefkowitz and G. Rogers (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 193-194. cf. See also Deacy and Villing, this volume, pp. 12-13.

⁶⁷ As J.D. Hawkins notes ("Writing in Anatolia", *World Archaeology* 17 [1986], 365), the Luwians "seem to have been seafarers, unlike the landlocked Hittites, and it is clear that they stood geographically and culturally between the Hittites and the contemporary Minoan-Mycenaean civilizations of the Aegean".

The internal vowel change required for the equation *Arinna-At^hana* matches a widespread alternation within Anatolian toponymy (*i/e/a*), e.g., Aštanuwa/Ištanuwa,⁶⁸ lengthening of an internal *a* (and consequent reduction of the geminated nasal) as the result of accent placement or assimilation of the medial -Vnn- cluster to the treatment of syllabic + consonantal nasal in, e.g., Luwian⁶⁹ would yield the desired form; indeed, in the process of transmission, the final syllables of the original place name could simply have been replaced by the morphologically similar Anatolian and (pre-)Greek toponymic suffix -ānā (cf. Anatolian *Adana*, etc., Greek *Mukana*, etc.).⁷⁰

The feasibility of postulating a development of Greek -th- from -r- of the original name is supported by evidence of (sporadic) flap articulations of rhotics in first- and late second-millennium Anatolia and the Mediterranean.⁷¹ Italic (Oscan and Umbrian, as well as Archaic Latin) shows some indication of a flapped *r*, e.g., *d > r* in Old Latin inscriptions, *aruorsum* for *aduorsum*, *peres* for *pedes*, etc., as does Luwian (primarily Hieroglyphic Luwian although some traces appear also in Cuneiform Luwian), e.g., HLuw: *pa+ra/i-* 'foot' (beside *pa-ta-*) < Proto-Anatolian **pod(o)-*; *ta+ra/i-* 'father' (beside *ta-ta*) < PA **dada-*; *a-ru-na* 'to eat' (:Lat. *edere*); verbal endings in -*ti* or -*ri*, -*ta* or -*ra*, etc.⁷² The correspondences of intervocalic dentals among

⁶⁸ I. Singer, "The Toponyms Tiwa and Tawa", in *Studio Historiae Ardens: Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. T. van den Hout and J. de Roos (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1995), 271-274.

⁶⁹ S. Kimball, "The Anatolian Reflexes of the IE. Syllabic Resonants", *Indogermanische Forschung* 91 (1986), 98.

⁷⁰ Cf. Nilsson, *MMR*, 489-498 (with lit.). Cf. the spring *Arēnē* (*Arānā*) in Elis, Paus. 5.1.6., and the Arcadian spring *Arnē* (*Arnā*) associated with Poseidon, which, despite Pausanias' (linguistically problematical) explanation (8.8.2), is likely to be the same name, with Lycian-type syncopation; Ἀρνα is the Greek transliteration of Lycian *Arīna* (*Arinna-Awarna*), Greek Xanthos; Forrer, "Quelle", 178; H.J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), 106; for the identification *Arīna*=*A(u)warna* see M. Poetto, *L'iscrizione luvio-geroglifica di YALBURT* (Pavia: Iuculano, 1993), 78.

⁷¹ A 'flap' (or 'tap') is articulated by a quick tap of the tongue tip on the alveolar ridge just behind the upper teeth (either a direct ['tap'] or a tangential ['flap'] strike). Both rhotics (*r*-sounds) and dentals (*t*, *d*) can be articulated as flaps or taps. For example, the typical American pronunciation of *petal* will sound to an Edinburgh Scot like his pronunciation of *pearl*, the Scottish *r* and the American *t* both being articulated as flaps or taps; cf. M. Lindau, "The Story of /r/", in *Phonetic Linguistics: Essays in Honor of Peter Ladefoged*, ed. V.A. Fromkin (New York: Academic Press, 1985), 157-168; P. Ladefoged and I. Maddieson, *The Sounds of the World's Languages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 215-245.

Cuneiform Luwian, Hieroglyphic Luwian and Lycian are:

Cun.Luw. *-t-* (/d/) :Hier.Luw. *-t-* (/d/) or *-r-* :Lyc. *-d-* (/d/)⁷³

In Pamphylian also, a Near Eastern Greek dialect attested three to four centuries after the Hieroglyphic Luwian texts, there is a change of intervocalic *d* > *r*. These orthographic variants are likely to reflect not 'rhotacism' properly speaking (such as the well-known phenomenon of 'intervocalic rhotacism' seen in Latin *s* > *r*) but rather confusion in the orthography of the language, resulting from sporadic articulation of some rhotics and some dentals in certain phonetic environments as flaps, a situation which is likely to have obtained in the spoken language for some time before it was reflected in the writing system.

Greek of the Classical period, as we know from Plato and others, had a trilled *r*;⁷⁴ the Mycenaean *r* may have had something of a lateral articulation since it was not considered necessary to use separate signs to differentiate *r* and *l* in the Linear B syllabary; in neither period, apparently, were rhotics articulated as flaps. If, then, the Anatolian place name *Arinna* was borrowed by Greek speakers (who had any type of *r* other than a flap) via a language which had a flapped *r*, this sound would have been heard by the Greek speakers as a voiced dental stop (/d/). If the flap was articulated with noticeable respiratory energy (or even perhaps somewhat spirantized) it would have been heard as an *aspirated* voiced dental (/d^h/) and subjected to the regular Greek devoicing rule for aspirates, yielding an aspirated voiceless dental stop (/t^h/).⁷⁵ The resulting word (with the vowel development discussed above) would be Greek *At^hana*, precisely as it occurs on the island of Crete in the mid-second millennium.⁷⁶

It is, finally, of some considerable interest to note that Homer's

⁷² A. Morpurgo Davies, "Dentals, Rhotacism and Verbal Endings in the Luwian Languages", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 96 (1983), 248; cf. H.C. Melchert, *Anatolian Historical Phonology* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), 237.

⁷³ Morpurgo Davies, "Dentals", 256.

⁷⁴ S. Allen, *Vox Graeca* (Cambridge University Press, 1968), 39-43.

⁷⁵ The *-nd/-nth* variation in Aegean and Anatolian place names may have a similar origin in an aspirated (*vel sim.*) dental obstruent.

⁷⁶ Assuming the required aspiration and vowel length, neither being indicated in the Linear B syllabary. For multiple borrowings across disparate dialectal and diachronic levels, resulting in forms as varied as Anatolian *Arinna*, *Arīna*, *A(wa)rna* (and perhaps *Adana*) and Greek *Arnā*, *Arānā*, (and perhaps *Athānā*) compare the variants of the ancient Greek name *Alexandros* available to speakers of modern English: *Alexander*, *Iskandar*, *Alastair*, etc. The question may never be definitively settled; my

Trojans, who quite likely spoke Luwian outside Greek epic,⁷⁷ address Athena with a typically Anatolian title: *Potni' Athēnaiē*,⁷⁸ using (in Greek) a morphological form shared with – and prominent in – Hittite (the adjectival suffix *-iya*) and a syntactic form characteristic of Luwian (*Athēnaiē*), the most striking feature of Luwian syntax being the use of adjectives (in *-assa* in Luwian) to replace genitives in indicating the relationship of one noun to another.⁷⁹

purpose here is merely to show that derivation of the Greek name from the Anatolian is not impossible on phonological grounds; as Güterbock (“Troy”, 42) says of the *Apollo-Appaliunas* hypothesis, “It is true that the evidence is not sufficient for proof; but neither is there any reason why the equation could not be true”.

⁷⁷ Watkins, “Trojans”, 45-62.

⁷⁸ *Il.* 6.305.

⁷⁹ For useful discussion I am grateful to the participants and audience of the Athena conference at Lincoln College, Oxford, and to the editors and conference organizers, Susan Deacy and Alexandra Villing. Thanks are especially due, and gratefully rendered, to Robert Parker and Noel Robertson for insightful comments both at the conference and subsequently, and to Craig Melchert for helpful remarks on Anatolian phonology.

CHAPTER TWENTY

ATHENA AND DURGĀ: WARRIOR GODDESSES IN GREEK AND SANSKRIT EPIC

N.J. Allen

The approach to the classical world exemplified in this paper is that of an Indo-European cultural comparativist. From this viewpoint Greece and Rome are just two among the various cultures of Indo-European origin, together with those of early Ireland, Iran, India and so on. Commitment to exploring this common origin framework does not entail rejecting diffusionist claims, any more than it would in linguistics: a linguist interested in genetic comparisons can focus on starred forms and their descendants without in the least denying the existence of loan words. Similarly my question here concerns the Indo-European origin of a member of the Greek pantheon, but I do not deny the possibility of Middle Eastern influences on that pantheon, or on Athena herself.¹ In historical reality diffusion and common origin interact, but I focus solely on the second.

Within the wider field of Indo-European cultural comparativism one particularly promising area is the relation between Sanskrit and Greek epic traditions. A number of detailed similarities have already been found between the *Mahābhārata* and the *Odyssey* (plus post-Homeric epic material), and they may exist elsewhere in the two traditions.² One such similarity provides my topic. The warrior goddess Durgā intervenes only twice in the *Mahābhārata*, and we shall be comparing her first intervention with one of the many interventions of Athena in the *Odyssey*. The conclusion will be that in her role as warrior Athena is, at least in part, cognate with Durgā. The identity of a deity covers name, icon, cult, mode of action (in this case war), and myth, but I limit myself to myth.

¹ As suggested by A. Teffetteller (this volume).

² N.J. Allen "Why did Odysseus become a horse?", *JASO* - Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford 26 (1995), 143-154. My other relevant papers are cited below. Cf. also C. Vielle, *Le mytho-cycle héroïque dans l'aire indo-européenne: correspondances et transformations helléno-aryennes* (Louvain-la-neuve: Institut orientaliste, 1996).

If similarities are found between the two epics, and are too substantial to be due to chance, one has four explanatory options. They could be due to some sort of psychological universal (e.g. Jungian archetypes), to independent parallel inventions in societies of similar technology and socio-political structure, to diffusion (from Greece to India or vice versa), or to common origin in an earlier culture. Though it is not the only logical possibility, the most obvious candidate for the common origin is Indo-European. Behind the Greek and Sanskrit languages there lies a proto-language from which both descend and which accounts for the similarities. Similarly, behind the two epics there could lie a proto-epic from which both descend. However, since the similarities that I examine concern narrative, not for instance metrics or oral formulae, I prefer to speak of a proto-narrative. Very likely the story was told in proto-Indo-European, rather than in some later language from the Indo-European family tree, but that question too lies outside my present scope.³

At the present stage of investigation it is the primary texts that matter. Homerists and Indologists sometimes provide useful glosses on what these texts say, but in so far as they ignore the comparative dimension (as they usually do), little of their writing is *centrally* relevant. The questions posed here take the form 'To what extent is X like Y?', and however admirable the work of those who discuss X and Y separately, the questions that they address are different.⁴ Eventually one hopes for syntheses embracing comparativists, both sorts of philologist, and archaeologists too, but that is for the future. For the moment the comparativist can reasonably proceed more or less independently.

As for the comparativist literature, any researcher in this field has to acknowledge the inspiration of Dumézil. I believe that, in his work on ideology, he did not go far enough: the ideology of the Indo-European proto-culture was not simply trifunctional, but included a bifid fourth function.⁵ However, I allude to the functions only marginally in the present paper, and cite Dumézil more for his

³ Cf. N.J. Allen "Cúchulainn's women and some Indo-European comparisons", *Emania* 18 (2000), 57-64.

⁴ Cf. for instance A. Karanika (this volume), especially her concluding discussion of the Athena-Odysseus encounter in *Od.* 13.

⁵ N.J. Allen "Romulus and the fourth function", in *Indo-European religion after Dumézil*, ed. E.C. Polomé (Washington: Institute for the Study of Man, 1996), 13-36;

recognition of what I call the ‘bypass phenomenon’. He showed conclusively that the *Mahābhārata*, written down in the centuries around the turn of the eras contains themes and structures from pre-Vedic times that bypassed the Vedas themselves, which date from about a millennium earlier.⁶

The bypass phenomenon bears on the somewhat obscure history of Durgā. ‘Durgā’ is just one among the various names and forms of Devī ‘the Goddess’, alongside Pārvatī, Umā, Kālī and many others. Working backwards, one can say that nowadays Durgā is widely worshipped and that her warrior character is emphasised – she rides a tiger and brandishes a sword. Her celebrity goes back to the Purāṇas (mainly written down between the 4th and 12th centuries), and especially to the section of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa called the Devīmāhātmya, which includes an account of Durgā overcoming Maṇiṣāsura, the buffalo demon.⁷ Earlier, in the epic literature, references to Durgā become rarer, and they disappear altogether in the Vedas. The Vedic pantheon is very male-dominated, and although various goddesses are mentioned, there is no salient warrior goddess. Thus if Athena and Durgā are cognate, as I think they are, it can only be by virtue of the bypass phenomenon.

An argument linking two characters drawn from such apparently remote and disparate narratives can scarcely aspire to the cogency of Euclid, but it is by no means wholly subjective. Its task must be to identify a *network* of parallels between the two stories. It means little if element α in the Greek resembles element *a* in the Sanskrit, and the argument only begins to take off if we find narrative sequences such as $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$, each element of which resembles the corresponding element in the Sanskrit sequence *abcd*. But a narrative is not simply a linear sequence of elements, and one looks also for parallels of more complex types. For instance, if α and γ share a protagonist, and so do *a* and *c*, that is good evidence.

One naturally looks first for one-to-one matching of elements in the two stories, but things need not be so simple. Sometimes one

“Varnas, colours and functions: expanding Dumézil’s schema”, *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft* 6 (1998), 163-177.

⁶ G. Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée, I* (Paris: Gallimard, 1968), part 1. See *ibid.*, 580-586 for his well-known trifunctional analysis of the Judgement of Paris, which seems to me to omit the roles of Zeus and Eris – cf. Allen “Romulus”, 22-3.

⁷ See e.g. *Célébration de la grande déesse (Devī-Māhātmya)*, trans. and comm. J. Varenne (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1975). Durgā as *maṇiṣāsuramardinī* is a very common scene in Hindu iconography.

stretch of Greek narrative parallels two separate stretches in the Sanskrit, as if the Greek had collapsed or fused what the Sanskrit keeps distinct. Theoretically, the formulation can be reversed so that the Sanskrit is seen as splitting what is unitary in the Greek, but I think that on the whole the Sanskrit is the more conservative of the two and the better indicator of the proto-narrative. I shall several times use the language of fusion, so I must emphasise that this is a verbal short cut: in reality of course the Greek has fused not the Sanskrit but the proto-narrative.

The simplest and perhaps the most satisfying comparisons involve quite small units of text. Ideally the Greek is on one side of the desk, the Sanskrit on the other, and one works back and forth comparing motifs, lines, and phrases. But here we shall need to start off by working with larger elements of narrative, exploring the context in which the goddesses intervene. Looked at in isolation, the Durgāstava, 'The (Hymn in) praise of Durgā', the single *adhyāya* (section) at the heart of our comparison, is not strikingly similar to anything in the *Odyssey*.

One final caution. In judging alleged similarities one needs to weigh them against differences. But the undertaking is pointless unless *some* similarities exist, so the similarities have the logical priority, and for reasons of space my treatment of differences will be skimpy. Of course large differences are to be expected when two oral narrative traditions have been transmitted separately over a period of millennia and are told in very different cultures.

I start with the highest levels of organisation and work towards the details. Both epics say more about mortals than about deities, so to compare the goddesses we must start by comparing heroes.

1. *Absence, and return to reclaim throne*

Regarded globally, the *Odyssey* is a *nostos*, the return of a hero from the Trojan war: Odysseus comes home after twenty years away, slaughters the suitors, and reclaims his rightful throne. The *Mahābhārata* centres on a similar theme. This time the heroes are plural, for there are five Pāṇḍava brothers.⁸ Moreover, the immediate cause

⁸ The names will be useful: (from older to younger) Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna, and the twins Nakula and Sahadeva. Their shared wife is Draupadī.

of their absence is not some sort of parallel to the Trojan War. They were invited by their enemies to participate in a game of dice: the losers are to spend thirteen years away from public life, and they lose. However, after this absence, the Pāṇḍavas return to slaughter their enemies in a great battle and reclaim their rightful throne. The similarity can be summed up in the formula:

departure of heroes, absence for period of years, violent return.

2. *Triumph preceded by incognito*

Between the main period of absence and the resumption of the throne both epics interpose a liminal period when the heroes are incognito. After the *Telemachy*, the *Odyssey* falls into two parts – the adventures overseas, and the hero's doings in Ithaca. For most of part II, from book 13 until close to the end, the hero is incognito: he is physically disguised and assumes false identities. As for the Pāṇḍavas, in accordance with the terms of the dice game, they spend twelve years in jungle and mountain exiled from the capital, experiencing various adventures and encounters; then they spend one year incognito. They choose to spend this thirteenth year under false identities at the court of King Virāṭa, whence Book 4 of the epic is called the Virāṭaparvan. In both epics the incognito represents a stage in the process of return: Odysseus is back in his homeland after years overseas, the Pāṇḍavas are back in a royal court, albeit not their own, after years in the wild. The formula is

absence, partial return with incognito, resumption of throne.

3. *Incognito opened by encounter with warrior goddess*

Part II of the *Odyssey* begins with the hero sleeping on the beach of Ithaca and waking to encounter Athena. The goddess has helped him earlier, but now for the first time in the epic the relationship is overt: by the end of the interview in Book 13 Athena has divulged her identity and promised to help him regain his throne. In the Sanskrit, near the start of Book 4, Durgā appears for the first time in the epic.⁹ The eldest Pāṇḍava brother, Yudhiṣṭhira, praises Durgā in

⁹ I ignore her second appearance, when Arjuna invokes her just before the *Bhagavad*

the hope of seeing her face to face, and she duly manifests herself, promising to help the brothers regain their throne.

So in both epics the incognito period begins with a meeting of hero and warrior goddess. Here is my central point, on which the whole paper rests. But a minor complication should be noted. The reader of van Buitenen's translation of Book 4 will not find a section on Durgā.¹⁰ That is because the translator renders only the main text of the Sanskrit Critical Edition, and this edition relegates the Durgāstava to an appendix (I.4) since it is missing from Kashmiri, Bengali, and southern manuscripts. But the significance of such relegation is debatable, and depends on the relation that one posits between oral and written material. Those parts of the epic tradition missing from the earliest reconstructable manuscripts are not necessarily of later *origin* than those that were included; perhaps they were simply written down later. This is what my argument implies for the Durgā episode.

Thus, in very general terms, the formula is:

absence from capital, meeting with goddess opens incognito, triumph.

We can now look at the material more closely.

4. Incognito preceded by solo journey

At first sight a major difference between the epics is that Odysseus is left alone on the shore of Ithaca while the Pāṇḍavas start their thirteenth year as a group. As already noted, they are five brothers, and they are accompanied throughout the thirteen years by their wife Draupadī. But we need to follow the story backwards from the encounter with the goddess.

Barely more than three weeks previously, Odysseus was still on Calypso's island. Then he undertook his eventful solo voyage to Scheria, ending up in the capital of the Phaeacians. From there a Phaeacian boat had transported him to Ithaca the previous night.

Gītā (6 App. I.1). Similar to the first, it does not tell against my argument here.

¹⁰ *The Mahābhārata*, vols. 1-3, ed. and transl. J. van Buitenen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973-8). Book 4 of the epic is in vol. 3. Translations of the Durgāstava are in *The Mahābhārata of Krishna-Dwaipayana Vyasa*, Vol. 2, transl. K.M. Ganguli (Munshiram Manoharlal, 1993), 10-12 (i.e. Book 4, section 6); and (omitting lines 59-67) in *Le Mahābhārata, livres I à V*, ed. J.-M. Pétérvaldi (transl.) and M. Biarreau (intro., comm.) (Paris: Flammarion, 1985), 274-276.

In the Sanskrit we must go a little further back. In Book 3, in the course of the twelve-year exile, the third brother, Arjuna, departed for five years on a solo journey to heaven, to meet his divine father Indra. In due course the god's chariot returned him to earth, to be reunited with brothers and wife.

I have argued elsewhere that Odysseus' journey to Scheria and Arjuna's journey to heaven are cognate narratives,¹¹ and my point here is that both precede the incognito, either immediately or by a certain gap. The gap is substantial (Book 3, sections 161-299), and not without incident for the Pāṇḍavas. Still, both events belong to the period of absence (comparison 1 above), and we can reasonably write

Solo journey ... meeting with goddess.

One way to envisage the comparison is to suppose that Greek tradition omitted or displaced post-reunion adventures present in the proto-narrative (and represented by the dots), perhaps prolonging the solo status of the hero. On the other hand (but the approaches could be combined), one might suppose that the Sanskrit produced the gap by filling out this part of the story.

5. *Incognito followed by restoration of queen*

If comparison 4 built on a previously published rapprochement by looking backwards, this one does the same thing by looking forwards. We can take for granted that the proper situation for a queen is to live with her royal husband who rules in his own palace. While Odysseus is incognito, Penelope is living in her palace but without her husband; while the Pāṇḍavas are incognito, Draupadī is living celibately in the same court as her husbands, but they are all servants in a foreign palace, not rulers in their own. In due course both queens will be restored.

But there are good reasons of various sorts for viewing Penelope and Draupadī as cognate. For instance, Penelope was wedded by Odysseus on the occasion of a concourse of princes suing for

¹¹ N.J. Allen, "The Indo-European prehistory of yoga", *International journal of Hindu studies* 2 (1998), 1-20.

Helen¹² and, more convincingly, she is won a second time in the archery contest against the concourse of suitors in Ithaca. Draupadī is won in an archery contest at a concourse of princes who have gathered to sue for her.¹³ And that is not all. A more elaborate argument for seeing the queens as cognate can be built on the four-function theory of Indo-European ideology.¹⁴

6. *Slaughter of queen's suitors*

Odysseus' main enemies in part II of the epic are the 108 suitors, who hope that one among them will marry the hero's wife and thereby take over his kingdom, as they have already started to do. But they are killed towards the end of the incognito. More precisely, their leader Antinous is killed before Odysseus' identity emerges, the others immediately afterwards.

In the Sanskrit the Pāṇḍavas' main enemies are their cousins, the Kauravas. During the dice match they attempt (unsuccessfully) to disrobe Draupadī, doubtless with a view to violating her sexually. They are about to take over the kingdom, and at first sight might seem to provide the parallel for the suitors. But it is not as simple as that. Firstly, the Kauravas are not killed until the great 18-day battle of Books 6-10 – long after the incognito has ended, and secondly, around the end of the incognito, two other violent episodes occur.

In the final weeks of the incognito, Kīcaka, King Virāṭa's marshal, becomes infatuated with Draupadī and tries to seduce her.¹⁵ She calls on Bhīma, the second brother, who kills Kīcaka at night without betraying his own identity. When the 105 followers of Kīcaka, the Kīcakas or Upakīcakas, try to take revenge, Bhīma by himself kills them too. So Antinous plus the other suitors parallel Kīcaka plus the Upakīcakas. Unlike the Homeric suitors, the Upakīcakas include no individuals who are named or otherwise distinguished; it is only their leader who attempts seduction, and none

¹² Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.8.

¹³ *Mbh.* 1.174-181.

¹⁴ N.J. Allen, "The hero's five relationships: a Proto-Indo-European story", in *Myth and Myth-making: continuous evolution in Indian tradition*, ed. J. Leslie (London: Curzon, 1996), 1-20.

¹⁵ 4.13-23. The timing is not totally clear. The story begins (4.13.1) when there are two months to go, climaxes when a month and a half remains (4.20.13), and ends when only thirteen days are left (4.23.27).

of them realise who is their killer. Nonetheless, the attempted seduction, the number of victims, the nocturnal setting, the separation made in the text between the fates of leader and followers – all these are clear similarities.

The second conflict that needs to be mentioned comes even closer to the end of the incognito. Learning of the marshal's death, the Kauravas and their allies the Trigartas plan a concerted attack on Virāṭa's kingdom with a view to plundering cattle. The Pāṇḍavas help Virāṭa beat off the raiders, and the humiliation of the Kauravas foreshadows their later annihilation during the great war. Unlike the homogeneous Upakīcakas, the enemy coalition contains at least two separate groups and many named individuals, thereby resembling the Homeric suitors, who come from Dulichium, Same, and Zacynthus, as well as Ithaca. Perhaps the Greek can be thought of as fusing the two battles that Book 4 distinguishes, and maybe also as drawing in the definitive conflict with the Kauravas. In any case, near the end of the incognito, the Sanskrit has something like a mnesterophonia.

7. *A set of lies*

As part of his incognito, Odysseus gives five different false accounts of his identity to five different individuals – first to Athena herself on the beach, then in succession to Eumaeus, Antinous, Penelope, and Laertes. Similarly, each of the five Pāṇḍavas gives a false account of his identity to King Virāṭa, and Draupadī gives hers to Virāṭa's queen Sudeśnā.

One obvious difference concerns the addressees of the lies – multiple in the Greek, single in the Sanskrit. Another concerns timing. Odysseus spreads his lies throughout the second half of the epic (Books 13, 14, 17, 19, 24), while the Pāṇḍava lies are all told to the royal couple immediately the group arrives in the capital, and form a single block of text.¹⁶

On the other hand, in both epics some or all of the false accounts allude to the true hero(es). Odysseus three times makes his false per-

¹⁶ 4.6-11, one section for each lie. The Pāṇḍavas discuss their disguises in advance in 4.1.19-4.3.18. The disguises are important in Dumézil's analysis of the brothers – see his *Mythe et épopée I*, and N.J. Allen, "Arjuna and the second function: a Dumézilian crux", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, ser. 3, 9 (1999), 403-418. I have not been able to match up the Greek and Sanskrit false personae.

sona allude to his true self,¹⁷ and all the Pāṇḍavas claim to have served the Pāṇḍavas.¹⁸ Moreover, in both epics the lies contain elements of truth. In his tale to Eumaeus Odysseus includes a shipwreck echoing the one he himself experienced, and his false account of Thesprotia partly echoes his real experiences in Scheria.¹⁹ Compare Draupadī's tale addressed to Sudeśnā. The disguised queen claims to be married to five princes of the Gandharvas (a category of supernatural), who will protect her against would-be seducers.²⁰ This echoes her real polyandrous marriage to five incarnations of supernaturals.

8. *Fun*

More generally, one can compare the tone or atmosphere of the incognito periods. The impression is given that Odysseus enjoys using his skill at lying and deception – that is surely Athena's implication when she congratulates him on this skill.²¹ Certainly the Pāṇḍavas enjoy themselves. When announcing the choice of Virāṭa's kingdom for year thirteen, Yudhiṣṭhira lays down that they are to take jobs and to amuse or divert themselves.²²

But it is not only the heroes who have fun. No doubt both the Greek poets and their audiences savoured the many openings for irony that arise from Odysseus' incognito, and Book 4 of the *Mahābhārata* is said to be its most popular.²³ Dumézil thought that in this book the poets had given themselves a sort of recreation which permitted them 'to amuse themselves while amusing us'; van Buitenen elaborates on the 'distinct tone of hilarity' with which the book opens; Brockington mentions the 'carnival-style inversion of roles, with its rich possibilities for the comic'.²⁴

¹⁷ 14.321-330, 19.185ff., 24.309.

¹⁸ With one exception: Arjuna says he will mention this if asked (4.2.26), but does not in fact mention it.

¹⁹ 14.301-333, cf. specially 12.403-450.

²⁰ 4.8.27-31. Draupadī attributes the killing of Kīcaka and followers to her Gandharva husbands.

²¹ 13.393-5.

²² 4.1.14. The verb *viḥṛ-* 'amuse oneself' appears five further times while the disguises are being planned, and the verb *ram-* 'enjoy' twice.

²³ Raghu Vira, "Introduction" to *Critical Edition of the Virāṇaṣarvan* (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1936), xvii.

²⁴ Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée I*, 89; van Buitenen, *Mahābhārata III*, 6; J. Brockington, *The Sanskrit epics* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 143.

This comparison between Greek and Indian incognito periods is far from complete. It could be filled out by comparing Odysseus' conflict with Irus with Bhīma's defeat of the local champion wrestler Jīmāta,²⁵ or by comparing the staggered ending of the incognito in the two epics. But perhaps it suffices to establish the general similarity of the two stretches of narrative, and hence to lay the ground, at last, for comparing the two opening episodes and the warrior goddesses.

9. *A sleeper, a tree, and storage*

Seen in isolation, these three motifs could be dismissed as commonplace; their argumentative force comes from their combination.

During the voyage from Scheria, Odysseus sleeps deeply on the bedding laid out for him in the stern. The Phaeacians sail for the natural harbour of Phorcys, at whose head stands an olive tree next to a cave sacred to Naiads. They lift the hero, still sleeping on his bedding, carry him from the boat, and leave him on the sand. Then they unload his treasure, put it for safety by the olive tree, which stands aside from the path, and depart.²⁶

The Pāṇḍavas plan their disguises, are given some parting advice by their family priest on how to behave at court, and set off on foot. As they enter Virāṭa's kingdom, Draupadī complains of tiredness and, on Yudhiṣṭhira's instructions, Arjuna picks her up and carries her onwards. As they approach the city he puts her down, and discusses with Yudhiṣṭhira where to hide their weapons, which would betray their identity. He proposes a śamī tree on a hilltop by a desolate cremation ground. The tree stands in a patch of forest away from paths and infested by wild beasts. The Pāṇḍavas unstring their five bows, each of which receives individual mention, and lay them down together with their swords, quivers, and arrows.²⁷

So in both stories, at the start of the incognito, a sleepy or sleeping human being is carried by others, and this motif is juxtaposed to references to a tree which stands somewhere out of the way.²⁸

²⁵ *Od.* 18.1-116; *Mbh.* 4.12.12-25.

²⁶ 13.70-125.

²⁷ Root *nidhā-* 'lay down' – 4.5.15, 24. I presume they were first laid on the earth.

²⁸ The olive is *ektos hodou* – 13.123, while the *samī* grows in forest which is *utpatha* (*ud* out of, away from, apart; *patha* way, path, road) – 4.5.13. Draupadī's weariness is inconsequential and has no obvious symbolic significance, but presumably the proto-narrative not only juxtaposed the motifs but also gave them a *raison d'être*.

Beside this tree valuable property is temporarily deposited before being moved elsewhere for safe storage. Odysseus counts his treasures, which are briefly listed, and on his request Athena helps him hide them in the cave.²⁹ Nakula volunteers to climb the *śamī* tree and tie the weapons to the branches.³⁰ In both cases, too, a final measure is taken for security. Athena sets a stone at the door of the cave; the Pāṇḍavas tie a corpse in the tree, pretending to some country folk that it is their traditional method of corpse disposal.³¹

10. *Prayer and response*

During his interview with Athena Odysseus makes various requests. On first meeting her in her shepherd guise, he prays ‘as if to a god’, asking her to help safeguard himself and his treasure, and to tell him where he is. Later, when Athena dissipates the mist, he greets the Naiads with prayers, promising them gifts if Athena protects himself and Telemachus – which is a sort of indirect prayer to her. Finally, he asks the goddess directly for help in defeating the suitors.³²

As befits a hymn of praise, most of Yudhiṣṭhira’s invocation of Durgā consists in recitation of her attributes and allusions to her mythic deeds, known to us from other texts. Unlike Odysseus, he does not need to ask his whereabouts, but he does ask the goddess to be merciful, auspicious, and on the side of truth, and to grant victory, boons, shelter, and protection.³³ The similarities to Odysseus’ requests are somewhat vague. When epic hero meets warrior goddess, prayers for help in battle can be expected, and indeed both goddesses promise such help. Athena will be beside her protégé when the suitors’ blood and brains bespatter the earth, and it is by Durgā’s grace that Yudhiṣṭhira will kill the Kauravas en masse and, with his brothers, rule over the whole earth in health and happiness.³⁴ But without being specifically asked, both goddesses go on to do something less predictable. Athena promises to

²⁹ 13.217-218, 230, 363-371.

³⁰ 4.5.25. The southern mss have a variant version, summarised by Raghu Vira, “Introduction”, xix.

³¹ 13.370; 4.5.27-29.

³² 13.231, 359-360, 386-391.

³³ App. I 4D 30, 32, 50-51.

³⁴ 13.393-396; App. I 4D 55-59.

make her hero unrecognisable, and Durgā promises that by her grace neither Kauravas nor local inhabitants will be able to recognise them.³⁵

11. *Shepherds, and partly hidden royalty*

When Athena first approaches Odysseus it is in the form of a young man, a shepherd (or perhaps herdsman more generally), and at the same time delicate (*panapalos*), as princes are, and with a doubly folded cloak over his shoulder.³⁶ In other words, although she appears as a man of the people, her disguise barely hides her exalted origin (she was born directly from the king of the gods).

When the Pāṇḍavas tie the corpse in the tree, the locals to whom they explain their act (adding the further lie that the corpse is that of their 180-year-old mother) are cowherds and shepherds.³⁷ Only two shlokas later the Critical Edition moves us directly to Virāṭa's court, where Yudhiṣṭhira arrives with his dice fastened under his armpit in his cloak. From his appearance Virāṭa judges that the newcomer is not a brahman (as he pretends to be) but a lord of the earth or anointed king.³⁸ Virāṭa expresses similar doubts about the others, notably Sahadeva, who claims to be a cowherd, and Nakula, who claims to be an expert on horses. In other words, the Pāṇḍavas present themselves in relatively lowly disguises, but their royal birth almost shows through. This alone would make a reasonable comparison, even without the Sanskrit references to sheep and cloak.

12. *Deity in disguise*

Comparison 11 ignores one major difference: in the Greek it is the deity that is disguised, in the Sanskrit it is the mortals – when Durgā shows herself to Yudhiṣṭhira there is no reference to disguise. But a

³⁵ 13.397 (*agnōston*); App. I 4D 68-9 (*na prajñāsanti*). The verb roots are cognate, but too commonplace for this to be interesting. Lines 60-67, a *phalaśruti* (statement of the benefits derivable from the hymn) are absent from some mss. If they are ignored, the *matprasādāt* 'by my grace' in line 68 clearly parallels the same phrase in 59 and the similar one in 56. The three promises are doubtless trifunctional: victory F2 (i.e. second functional), joy and health F3, and unrecognisability (belonging to the magical or cognitive domain) F1. In any case, the unrecognisability comes last, as in the Greek.

³⁶ 13.222-224.

³⁷ *gopāla*, *avipāla* – 4.5.29.

³⁸ 4.6.1, 5-6.

disguised deity does intervene in the last minor *parvan* of Book 3,³⁹ and yet again the Greek seems to bring together what the Sanskrit separates.

Yudhiṣṭhira's divine father is the god Dharma (Religion or Cosmic Order personified). Dharma takes the form of a deer and runs off with a brahman's fire-drilling sticks in his horns. The Pāṇḍavas pursue the deer but lose it. Suffering from thirst, they lament their plight. Nakula climbs a tree and locates a lake. One by one the younger brothers go to fetch water, but they disobey the orders of an anonymous voice and collapse in a sort of death-like trance. Finally Yudhiṣṭhira goes to the lake, which is adorned with piles of gold. He, at last, obeys the orders of his father, who pretends to be a crane but has in fact taken the form of a large Yakṣa (a type of supernatural), who is tall as a palm. Dharma questions his son, is well answered, admits his identity, and apparently reveals himself in his true form.⁴⁰ He explains his aim (which was to test his son), and gives boons, including that of unrecognisability in Virāṭa's city.

Even this brief summary suggests many links with the start of Book 4. Nakula climbs a tree; members of the party lie as if asleep; Yudhiṣṭhira speaks with the manifestation of a boon-giving deity; unrecognisability is guaranteed. But what matters here is the comparison with the Greek. Odysseus is depressed and laments past failures and decisions, just as the Pāṇḍavas do.⁴¹ Both heroes express unjustified suspicions: Odysseus at first blames the Phaeacians for dumping him in a foreign land, while Yudhiṣṭhira at first blames the leader of his enemies for the apparent death of his brothers.⁴² Athena takes the initiative in arranging the meeting, as Dharma does. The goddess seems to be testing her protégé, the god is explicitly testing his son. Both meetings take place beside water and in the presence of gold. Both heroes end their first speeches with factual questions: Odysseus asks where he is, Yudhiṣṭhira asks who is his interlocutor. By their verbal behaviour, both heroes impress deities, and receive praise from them. Even the double assurance of success in the incognito has a parallel in the Greek. Long before she gets to work with her wand, Athena covered the hero with a mist to render him temporarily unrecognisable even to wife, friends and

³⁹ 3.295-299, 'The Drilling Woods'. A minor *parvan* is a division of a *parvan* or book.

⁴⁰ 3.298.22. There is no suggestion that either in Yakṣa or other form Dharma is particularly royal or princely in appearance.

⁴¹ 13.198-206; 3.295.15-296.4.

⁴² 13.209-210; 3.297.5-7.

townsmen, and although she later scatters the mist, that is to allow him to recognise where he is. One need not assume that it cancels her earlier magical act.⁴³

In short, whatever is made of the Sanskrit-Sanskrit comparison, it is clear that, even if attention is limited to the start of the Greek incognito, the Greek-Sanskrit comparison is not simple. As war goddess who promises victory, Athena parallels Durgā, but in her male disguise she is closer to Dharma. There is a general lesson here. Life would be easier for comparativists if comparisons were regularly one-to-one – a single Greek character or episode corresponding to a single Sanskrit one; but that may turn out to be the exception. More specifically, this particular Greek ‘fusion’ of male and female hints at ways of approaching other aspects of Athena’s paradoxical nature.

Concluding remarks

No particular significance attaches to the number of headings under which the two narratives have been compared. The similarities reviewed here number many more than twelve, and to this virtual total can be added the relations between motifs. For instance, comparison 9 not only compares two trees and two accumulations of valuables but also uses the spatial and narratological juxtaposition of the motifs. Again, the supplicant in 10 is husband of the queen in 5 and 6.

Since it is not easy to keep in mind two complex stories at once, let alone the relations between them, here is a rough formula to serve as overview. In conflating the Pāṇḍava brothers under the abstract figure of hero, it does not prejudge whether the protagonist in the proto-narrative was singular or (as is perhaps more likely) plural. It is presented as a simplified aide-mémoire, not a reconstruction.

Hero departs and is absent for years. He undertakes a solo journey, is approached by a male deity or deity in male disguise, finds himself beside a religiously significant tree, encounters a warrior goddess, re-

⁴³ 13.189-193 (*agnōston* again, as in note 35), 352, 429. In the southern mss, before meeting Virāṭa, the party visit the Ganges, where Yudhiṣṭhira obtains from Dharma in an instant the clothes and ornaments needed for the new roles (Raghu Vira “Introduction”, xix; App. I 5). This parallels Odysseus obtaining from Athena the appearance and accoutrements of a beggar.

ceives boons from her, enjoys himself telling lies as part of an incognito, kills his queen's suitors and restores her.

The density and interlinking of the similarities, reinforcing those presented in previous papers, demands historical explanation. Moreover, though I cannot argue the point here, the rootedness of both epics in their local cultures, taken with their general conformity to Indo-European ideological patterns, strongly suggests explanation in terms of common origin. From this it follows that the two warrior goddesses are cognate.

However, this finding needs to be put in context. We are only talking about one strand in the complex figure of Athena. There is much more to her than a role in myth or epic, and even there one must not oversimplify: Athena intervenes often in Homer,⁴⁴ Durgā only twice in the *Mahābhārata*. In other epic contexts the role of Athena parallels that of Indra, king of the gods, or that of Krishna, as whose sister Durgā is sometimes presented.⁴⁵ The scope for further comparative work is immense.

⁴⁴ Summary in P. Wathelet, "Athéna chez Homère ou le triomphe de la déesse", *Kernos* 8 (1995), 167-185.

⁴⁵ Athena~Indra: N.J. Allen, "Homer's simile, Vyasa's story", *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 6 (1996), 215. Athena~Krishna: the deities bring together the hero and Nausicaa/Subhadra (cf. Allen, "Hero's five relationships", 10-12). Krishna~Durgā: *Mbh.* 4 App. I 4D 7 and later texts. One needs to ask whether Athena has expanded her epic role, Durgā has contracted, or both.

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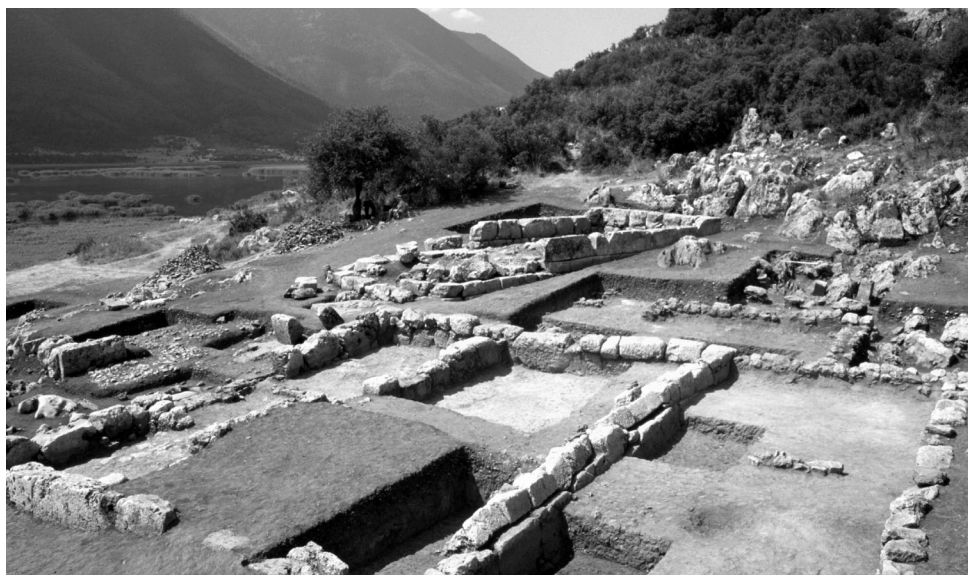
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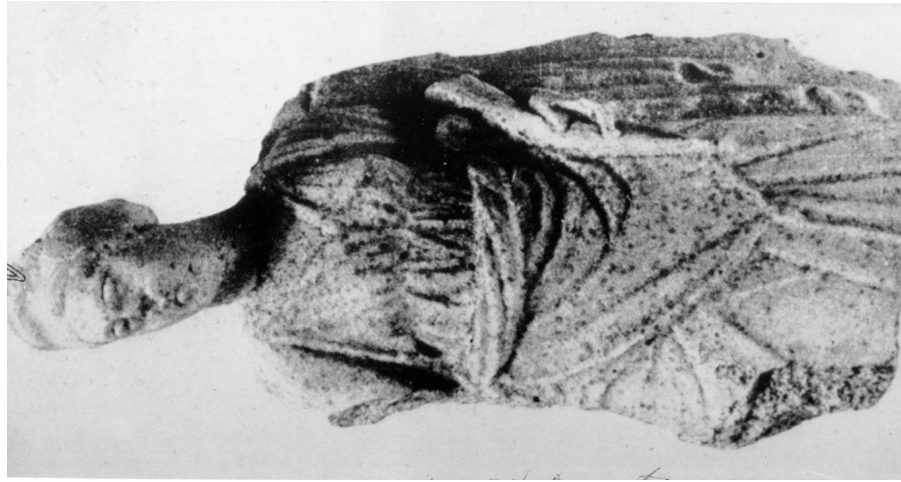
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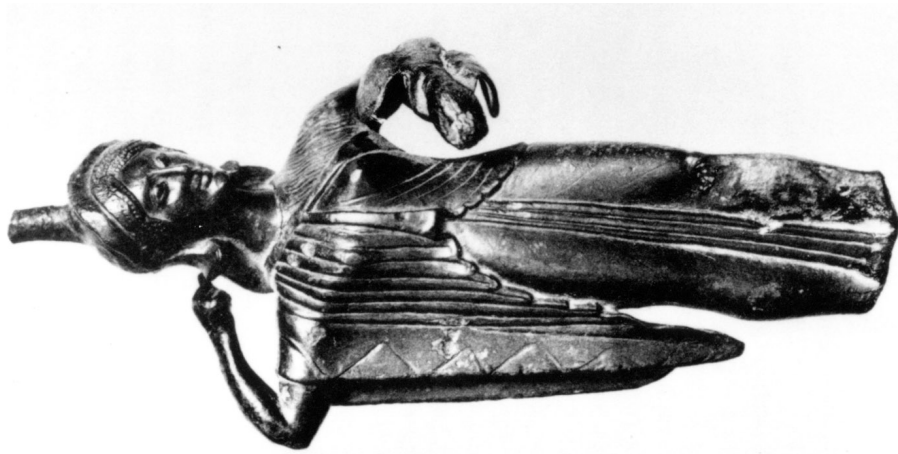
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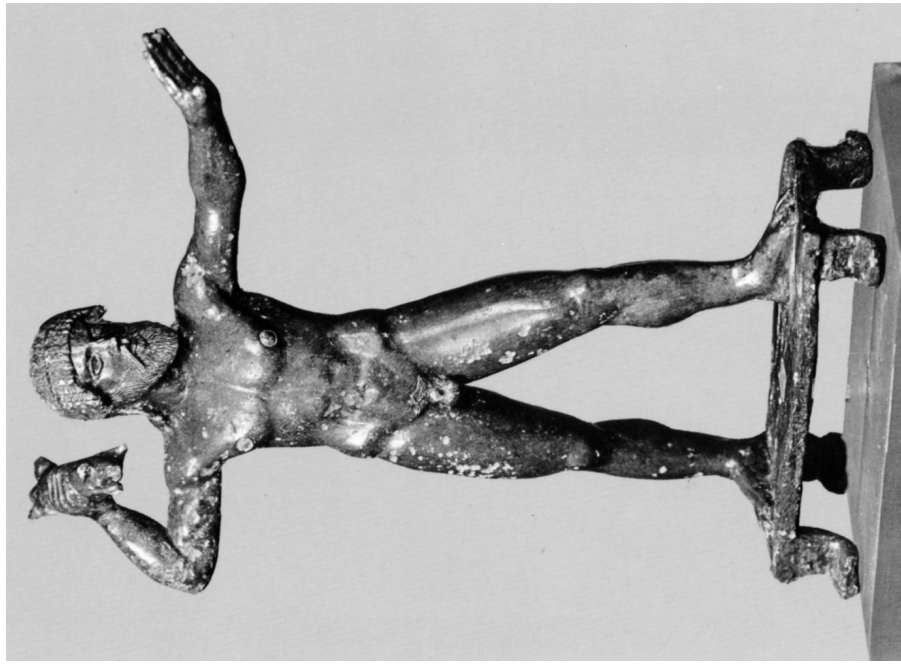
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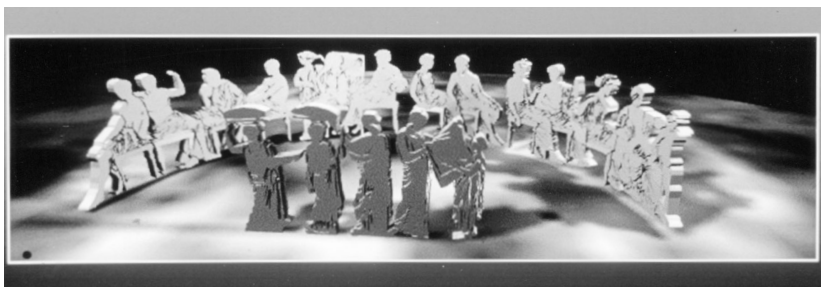
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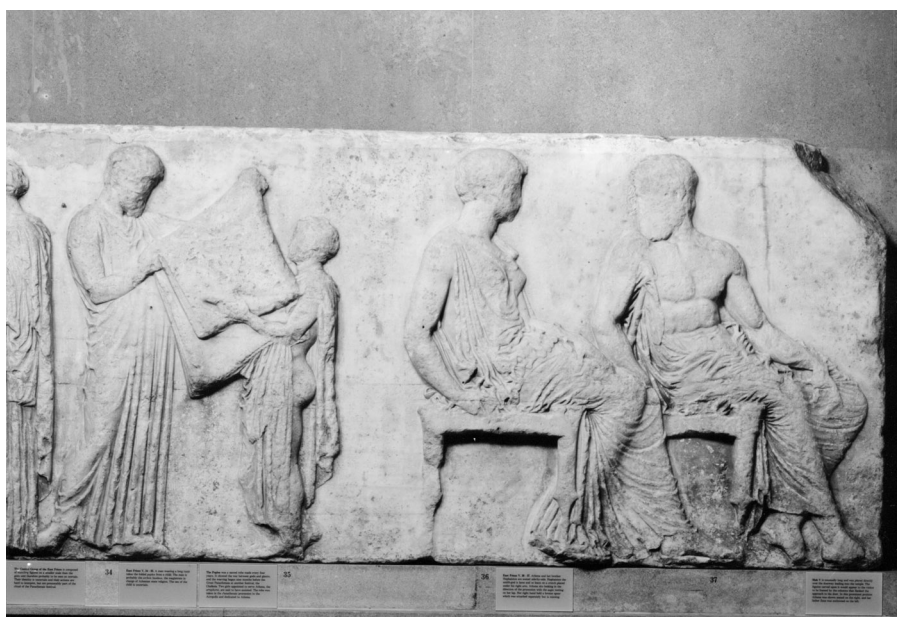
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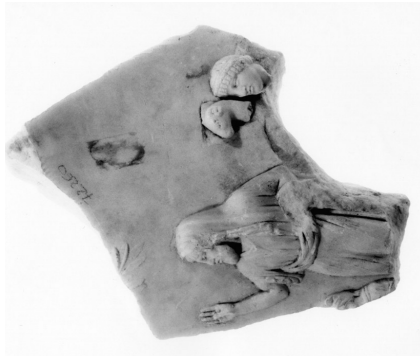
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